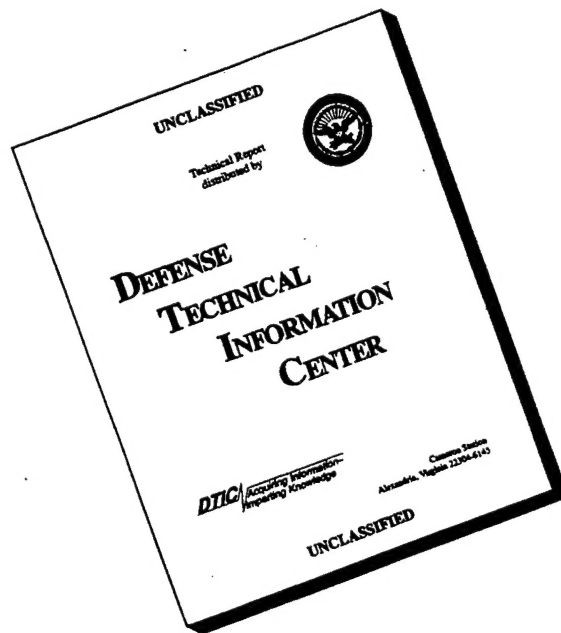


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**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA**

January - December 1980

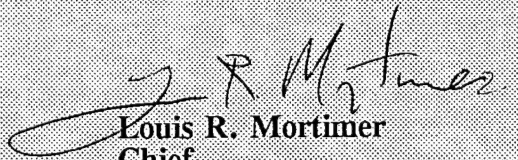
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## PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the year 1980. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are slightly dated. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of the state of the art and of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA  
(Received in January 1980)

Africa General

Brayton, Abbott A. "Soviet Involvement in Africa." Journal of Modern African Studies, 17, 2 (1979), pp. 253-69.

The author identifies 15 African states penetrated by the Soviet Union to varying degrees. He sets out to prove the hypothesis that the USSR penetrated the class he terms "targeted states" on the basis of their relative poverty and political instability. He tests the economic aspect by statistically contrasting the penetrated states with the unpenetrated states. Political instability is gauged by occurrences of civil wars, revolutions, assassinations, riots, ethnic clashes, etc.

David, Steven. "Realignment in the Horn: The Soviet Advantage." International Security, Winter 1978/79, pp. 69-90.

As important as the intrinsic value of the Horn is to the Soviets (and, by implication, to the United States), it is in the global context where the overriding significance of the Horn can be assessed and which this article is concerned. According to the author, while the strategic importance of the Soviet success in this area of the world is debatable, it is hard to avoid the central political lesson that has emerged: alignment with the Soviet Union proved demonstrably superior to alignment with the United States.

Schissel, Howard. "What Future for the Lebanese in West Africa?" African Business, September 1979, pp. 16-17.

The "rice riots" in Liberia and the June coup in Ghana highlighted the problems of the more than 100,000 Lebanese living in West Africa. They are often viewed by Africans as being responsible for their countries' economic ills. Local businessmen attempt to ally themselves with wealthy Lebanese in order to benefit from their business acumen, resources and contacts. However, it is the poorer Lebanese who are most exposed and most vulnerable.

Algeria

"Algeria's tomorrow is being bought at today's prices." Middle East Newsletter. 19 November 1979-2 December 1979, pp. 8-9.

Algeria is borrowing heavily to finance its industrial development program on the expectation of high oil and gas revenues. The burden is heavy but rising oil and gas prices could make the gamble pay off. The

key is in balancing the large and growing foreign debt with expanded export revenues. Tables indicate a summary of financial projections (1976-2005) and foreign debt service projections (1979-86).

#### Chad

"Chad: The A to Z of factionalism." Africa Confidential, 14 November 1979, pp. 4-7.

Examination of the situation in Chad: factionalism (FAP, FAN, FAT, FACP, and FAO), chances of success by GUNT, racial killings, destruction of the MPLT, leaders of various groups and the international dimension. Geographical location of the factions is detailed on a map.

Marc Yared. "Le Tchad reconcilie?" Jeune Afrique, 28 November 1979, pp. 16-17.

Examination of the situation in Chad with emphasis on Goukouni as the great common denominator among Chadians.

#### Congo

Bessis, Sophie. "La verite sur les enfants a Cuba." Jeune Afrique, 5 December 1979, pp. 27-31.

The sending of Congolese children to Cuba "without their parents' consent" has "scandalized" European and American public opinion. This series of articles deals with this issue and reveals that other African countries have also sent children to Cuba for "training."

#### Ethiopia

Benton, Graham. "How to Keep the Red Sea Neutral." The Middle East, December 1979, pp. 33-36.

The war in Eritrea is slowly going Ethiopia's way. Now the Arab moderates of the Red Sea and the Gulf are increasingly concerned that, with passive Soviet and Cuban assistance, the Addis Ababa regime will emerge as a springboard for revolution in the region. The author describes the attempts by the area's moderates to defuse the events within the Horn.

### Ivory Coast

- Rosen, George H. "The Ivory Coast: Le Folklore, La Prosperite." The Atlantic, December 1979.

Focuses on French involvement in the economic affairs of the Ivory Coast. Cites a growing resentment among the middle class for the French and Lebanese communities. Suggests that the Ivory Coast has used French aid shrewdly and quotes statistics which highlight the fast growing economy.

### Liberia

- Hlophe, Stephen S. "Ruling Families and Power Struggles in Liberia." Journal of African Studies, Summer 1979, pp. 75-82.

A critical account of the Tubman (1943-71) and Tolbert (1971 to present) administrations. Traces the fractionalization of the Monrovia family elites by Tubman which was replaced by the new Americo-Liberian ruling family class.

### Mali

- Bennet, Dr. Valerie Plave, "Military Government in Mali," a paper prepared for the US Department of State's external research program by Energy Resources Co., Inc., 19 November 1979, pp. 1-10.

The paper provides a historical retrospective of the rise to power of President Traore and ends with a brief overview of Mali's foreign relations, political and economic ("... Mali gets its money from the capitalists and its ideology from the socialists.").

- Diallo, Siradiou. "J.A. fait parler Moussa Traore." Jeune Afrique, No. 987, 5 December 1979, pp. 47-51.

After 11 years under Moussa Traore, Mali has changed. Although former President Keita died in prison under suspicious circumstances, those arrested with him have been released, an event welcomed by intellectuals who had doubted Traore's promise of a normal democratic life for Mali. In an interview, Traore commented on the one party state, the degree of free political activity in Mali, the role of the military in the country and on the economy.

- "L'economie du Mali" Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens, 18 May 1979, pp. 1229-31.

Overview of the current situation and development opportunities.

### Mauritania

Dahmani, Abdelaziz. "Mauritanie: Tiraillee de tous cotes." Jeune Afrique, No. 986, 28 November 1979, pp. 18-19.

Despite having signed a peace accord with the Polisario, Mauritania still faces problems: a catastrophic agricultural sector, ethnic problems between Arabs of the North and southern Africans, political arrests, and differences within the military. Moreover, the accord with the Polisario has led to tensions between Morocco and Mauritania, tensions which prompted Mauritania to call for French military assistance.

### Mauritius

"Industrial Unrest." African Research Bulletin, 1-31 October 1979, pp. 5444-45.

A recent wave of industrial unrest on Mauritius was not only intended to meet the demands of the striking sugar workers but has also been an attempt by the principal political party, the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM), to revamp its sagging following in the country. This article briefly describes the present political situation on this island and other strategies undertaken by the MMM.

### Morocco

"King Hassan risks social peace for military victory." Middle East Newsletter, London, 17 December 1979-13 January 1980, pp. 8-9.

Through a mixture of domestic repression and a military initiative in the Sahara, Hassan has, for now, consolidated his position. The underlying domestic economic crisis has not been resolved, however, and in the medium and long term, his position remains as precarious as ever. If the war continues and has an adverse impact on housing and education, Hassan could be in trouble in 2 to 3 years. If the war stops, Hassan will face increased expectations from his people.

Vergara, Francisco. "Maroc: Croissance Zero," Jeune Afrique, 28 November 1979, p. 30.

Military expenditures for the Saharan War have forced the government to stop investment programs. Industry was hardest hit and this has caused problems for subcontractors. Employers, unions, and opposition parties which approve of Hassan's Saharan policies criticize his economic policies, fearing that those policies will lead to increased unemployment and a worsening of the social climate in business.

## Niger

"Tableau de l'industrie nigerienne." Bulletin de l'Afrique noire.  
No. 1018, 3 October 1979, pp. 19720-22.

The Niger economy is characterized by: predominance of mining industries; weakness in industrialization because of a lack of raw materials; industrial concentration in Niamey; industrial stagnation of firms in existence; and the slow development of industrialization. Discussion centers on food industries, textile industries, leather, construction materials, chemical industries and mechanical construction industries.

## Sao Tome & Principe

"Effervescence politique a Sao Tome." Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens,  
5 October 1979, pp. 2688-89.

An overall historical review of political developments in Sao Tome. Particular attention is paid to the "attempted coup d'etat" of former Prime Minister Trovoadá.

## Somalia

Hancock, Graham. "Somalia Planning for a Rainy Day." Middle East Economic Digest, 14 December 1979, pp. 11-18.

Somalia's new 3-year development plan (1979-81) has just been published. It aims to create a diversified economy and improve living standards. Large-scale industrial and agricultural schemes will be handled by government, but decentralizing decisionmaking and forming, as well as farming and cattle-herding cooperatives, are also seen as key elements.

Laitin, David D. "The War in the Ogaden: Implications for Siyaad's Role in Somali History." The Journal of Modern African Studies, January 1979, pp. 95-115.

At the turn of the century, Sayid Maxamad Cabdille Xasan led a 21-year battle against foreign colonialists in Somali lands. In 1920 his armies were bombarded into disarray by the British and he died soon after. The Sayid, as he is known, is nonetheless considered the father of Somali nationalism. Military defeat did not spoil the luster of this hero's feats. In the 1970s the Somali's, led by General Siyaad Barre, were again engaged in a full-scale struggle, this time against the 'colonialist' Ethiopians in the Ogaden. Again there were early and



glorious victories, followed ultimately by defeat. But the greatness of Siyaad has been questioned rather than reaffirmed by loss. The author outlines the salient similarities and the differences between these two leaders and the implications for Siyaad Barre's future political fortunes in the light of Somalia's history.

#### South Africa

Betts, Richard K. "A Diplomatic Bomb for South Africa?" International Security, Fall 1979, pp. 91-115.

A discussion of means to prevent South African development of a nuclear bomb. The major obstacle to such efforts is that by offering Pretoria incentives to halt development, the South African Government is also encouraged by possible Western friendship.

Seidman, Anne and Neva Makgetla. "Transnational Corporate Involvement in South Africa's Military Build-Up." Journal of Southern African Affairs, April 1979, pp. 153-73.

The authors list various multinational institutions which are somehow connected with South African industry. The article is not limited to a discussion of military activities.

#### Tanzania

Samoff, Joel. "The Bureaucracy and the Bourgeoisie: Decentralization and Class Structure in Tanzania." Comparative Study of Society and History, January 1979, pp. 30-60.

A decade ago, most African states proclaimed their commitment to centralized planning and administration. At the end of European rule, African leaders saw their countries as poor and malintegrated, but with great potential. That potential could be realized, they thought, only through firm central direction. This orientation was nurtured by the external actors with which African states had to deal. Potential aid donors, whether states, international organizations, or foundations, wanted reports showing how their assistance would fit into long-range schemes for the improvement of the African situation. Hence most African states created a centralized planning unit, either as a separate ministry or attached to a senior ministry or the president's or vice-president's office. It did not work. This article focuses on the decentralization efforts in one state, Tanzania, but the author feels that it is a case study which is applicable to other African states.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

(Received in February 1980)

Africa General

- Boyd, J. Barron, Jr. "African Boundary Conflict: An Empirical Study." African Studies Review, December 1979, pp. 1-14.

This study attempts to test a number of theories regarding African boundary conflicts, including the hypothesis that "any African state can have boundary problems if it wants," by applying them to the national boundaries of the Horn of Africa. It was concluded that internal unrest, the desire of large states for greater influence, and the salience of ethnicity in domestic politics are related to the outbreak of boundary conflict.

- Halliday, Fred. "Soviet Policy in the Horn of Africa." Middle East International, 1 February 1980, pp. 10-11.

In the wake of events in Afghanistan, the Horn of Africa is now being cited as proof of the thesis long voiced by President Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, of a Soviet expansionist thrust into what he calls the "arc of crisis". But the author believes that the Soviet policy in this region is much more complicated--a combination of shifting alliances and unclear goals--and should be understood better before being reacted to by the US.

- Hudson, Darril. "The World Council of Churches and Racism in Southern Africa." International Journal, Summer 1979, pp. 475-500.

Study of the WCC's attitude towards racism in Southern Africa since 1948. Originally taking a benign stance, the WCC has become a vociferous critic of apartheid and has opposed that policy through grants to liberation groups, a campaign against investment, nuclear collaborations and bank loans. The WCC has helped to create an international human rights norm which deplores racism.

- Pateman, Roy. "East Africa . . . the future is uncertain." Current Affairs Bulletin, August 1979, pp. 16-27.

With the exception of Egypt's Nasser, Jomo Kenyatta was the only major nationalist politician on the African continent to die peacefully in office. Kenyatta's passing is an event with implications which will be felt beyond the border of Kenya and its East African neighbors. The pattern of economic development in post-colonial Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, together with foreign policy postures, have been largely determined by the character of the four very different men who have ruled these

three East African countries since independence (Kenyatta, Nyerere in Tanzania, Obote and Amin in Uganda). Kenyatta's influence in the area was immense, deriving both from the respect African's give to great age and from his leadership during the fight for independence. In recent years the economic and foreign policies of the three countries have become increasingly divergent and the future could see considerable friction in the area, with untried leadership in Kenya and Uganda and a Tanzania possibly without Nyerere, who has signaled his intention to step down from the post of President in 1980.

Shaw, Timothy M. "The Semiperiphery in Africa and Latin America: Sub-imperialism and Semiindustrialism." The Review of Black Political Economy, Summer 1979, pp. 341-58.

Review of the growth of the "middle powers" in the world which are either naturally or politically endowed with resources that place them between the major powers and the poorer countries. This group, which Shaw defines as the "semiperiphery," is divided between "subimperial" and semi-industrial," nations. African countries discussed include Nigeria, Zaire, South Africa, and some West African states.

Uttley, Garrick. "Globalism or Regionalism? United States Policy Towards Southern Africa." Adelphi Papers, No. 154, Winter 1979/1980, 36 pp.

US policy towards southern Africa since 1976 has been characterized by neutrality and deference to European interests. In the future, this may change as the South African situation nears a crisis point. In order to avoid confrontation with either blacks or whites in South Africa, preventive diplomacy, such as was attempted in Rhodesia, should begin now to defuse the potential for conflict in South Africa.

#### Algeria

Burget, Francois. "Villages socialistes algeriens a l'epreuve des realites." Maghreb Machrek, No. 86, October-December 1979, pp. 56-62.

Housing is seen as the principal gain in the socialist villages, despite complaints concerning the quality of construction and favoritism in the assignment of housing. New services, such as schools, are appreciated. Although the villages have failed so far to function as crucibles for the formation of citizens in charge of the country and despite the retarding influence of old institutions, the hoped-for changes are starting.

"FLN [National Liberation Front] Central Committee Calls for Slower Industrial Growth." An-Nahar Arab Report & Memo, 21 January 1980, pp. 2-4.

The recent meeting of the FLN Central Committee signaled a shift in Algeria's economic policy away from the rapid industrialization of the Boumedienne era. It was asserted that rapid industrialization made Algeria too dependent on foreign technical and financial services. The switch will mean decreased exports of oil and gas as well as a lessening of imports of items not locally available. One drawback to the change to slower development is that it will not provide opportunities for the youth.

"Loi de Finances: Dans l'Optique due Quinquennal." Revolution Africaine, 18-24 January 1980, pp. 17-20.

Algerian Finance Minister Hadj Yala discussed Algeria's 1980 budget (51.185 billion dinars or \$13.25 billion) before the National Assembly. He reported that: lacking available credits, certain loans will not be repaid this year; income from petroleum is to be devoted to future development; education, training, and health are to be given priority; and veterans' benefits are to be increased (up to 100 percent in some instances). In an effort to render Algeria self-sufficient in foodstuffs, storage and distribution facilities are to be improved.

#### Burundi

Yared, Marc. "L'ermite de Mogadiscio." Jeune Afrique, 9 January 1980, pp. 34-35.

A superficial interview with Michael Micombero, former President of Burundi who is presently in exile in Somalia.

#### Central African Republic

"Africa Rids Itself of One More Tyrant." The Weekly Review, (Nairobi, Kenya), 28 September 1979, pp. 14-15.

A brief account (including a chronology) of the fall of the Bokassa regime in the Central African Republic.

Latremolliere, Jacques. "L'economie centrafricaine apres Bokassa." Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens (Paris), 23 November 1979, pp. 3255-57.

Section headings are as follows: "Central African Mining Potential," "the Agricultural and Industrial Situation," "Foreign Aid--the Financial Situation," and "the Financial Implications of Bokassa's Departure--Its Political Meaning."

### Chad

Dahmani, Abdelaziz. "Reconstruire sur des ruines." Jeune Afrique, 9 January 1980, pp. 32-33.

Possible economic and political reconstruction of Chad.

### Ethiopia

Galperin, Georgi. "Ethiopia: Some Aspects of the Nationalities Question." Asia and Africa Today, November-December 1979, pp. 10-14.

The author presents the Soviet view of the Eritrean insurgency using an interesting interpretation of Marxism. He points out that Lenin's right to self-determination theorem is not the equivalent of a demand for separation, fragmentation, and the formation of small states. It implies only a consistent expression of struggle against all national oppression. Thus the Eritrean movement was progressive in character when it opposed the feudal monarchy but degenerative in its current opposition to the socialist revolution.

Markakis, John. "Garrison Socialism in Ethiopia." MERIP Reports, #79, pp. 3-17.

The Dergue, or the radical military regime now in power in Ethiopia, is presenting Soviet ideologists with some difficulties. Soldier revolutionary democrats are expected to pave the way for popular rule, a prerequisite for the advent of socialism, rather than bring about the transformation to communism by themselves. The author characterizes the political situation in Ethiopia as garrison socialism and explains what this might mean for the country's future, and the USSR's subsequent handling of radical military regimes espousing socialism.

### Ghana

"Break-out from Ussher Fort." West Africa, 17 December 1979, pp. 2317-19.

An interview with Capt Koda, one of four soldiers who escaped from Ussher Fort, Accra, on 12 November 1979. At the time, it was widely reported that Flt Lt J.J. Rawlings was involved in helping them escape; Capt Koda denies this. Now in London, Koda describes his flight into Togo and subsequent arrival in Britain.

"Ghana political upset possible." West Africa, 21 January 1980, p. 97.

The alliance between the ruling People's National Party (PNP) and the United National Convention (UNC) may be in danger of dissolving. A founding member of the UNC, Professor Adu Boahen, suggests that the union has benefited only the PNP. Since the two parties have dissimilar ideologies and personalities, it is speculated that a fear of military intervention may have initially led to the alliance. Whether or not this fear still exists is not mentioned. If a split does develop, it seems unlikely that the UNC would ally itself with the Popular Front Party (PFP).

"Justice and violence at the AFRC's courts." West Africa, 7 January 1970, pp. 10-12.

The third installment of an interview given by the four men who escaped from Ussher Fort on 12 November 1979, in which they describe their duties as members of the pre-trial investigation team (PIT) of the AFRC, and their subsequent arrest and detention.

McCain, James. "Perceptions of Socialism in Post-Socialist Ghana: An Experimental Analysis." The African Studies Review, Vol. 23, No. 3, December 1979, pp. 45-63.

Citing a "renaissance of Nkrumaism," the author evaluates the legacy of "scientific socialism" espoused by the former Ghanaian leader. He surveyed 67 Ghanaians by weighing their opinions on a set of 75 questions gauged to assess views on socialism. From his analysis he identifies five clusters he terms: Progressive Realists, Scientific Socialists, Afro-Centrics, Militantly Committed (to socialism), and Political Eclectics. One general conclusion is that Ghanaians believe that they can find solutions to their country's problems, but are still willing to accept sincere foreign "innovations." Little is mentioned of the composition of the 67 subjects, and the author admits that such factors as ethnicity were not controlled.

"'Politicians are on probation'." West Africa, 4 February 1980, pp 189, 191-92.

An interview with FLT Lt Rawlings in which he condemns the civilian government for waging a publicity campaign against the military and for forcing the resignations of Brigadiers Nunoo-Mensah and Quainoo. Rawlings states that reports of his praising President Limann have not been accurate.



Wartemberg, Joris. "Power, Politics and the Military Man." West Africa, 10 December 1979, pp. 2276-77.

A personal reflection on the current situation in Ghana. The author claims to have known former heads of state Acheampong and Rawlings, and views military intervention in politics as unwarranted and harmful.

#### Guinea

Sigisbert, Genieve. "La point economique sur la Guinee au debut de 1980." Europe Outremer, No. 596, pp. 23-26.

Since 1974, Guinea has launched a diplomatic initiative and has become more friendly toward the EEC. President Sekou Toure, who heretofore had not traveled much, made several trips outside Guinea and received many visitors in 1979. Within Guinea, political and economic changes have been made and expatriates have been invited to return. In the economic sphere, efforts are under way to improve management as well as the balance of payments situation. After improving its image abroad, if Guinea is able to keep its finances in order, Guinea ought to find the capital necessary for economic development.

#### Kenya

"House-Cleaning in Kenya." African Index, 1-15 November 1979, pp. 77 & 80.

An astounding 80 percent of Kenya's electorate went to the polls on 8 November 1979 in the first national elections held since the Presidency passed to Daniel Arap Moi upon the death of Jomo Kenyatta in August 1978. The results of the election signaled the definitive end of the Kenyatta political era. For the first time, Arap Moi is in a position to shape a government based on his, rather than his predecessor's priorities and allegiances.

#### Mali

Bentsi-Enchill, Nii K. "Rally Time with President Tolbert." West Africa, 4 February 1980, pp. 192-95.

Basically a transcript of a speech delivered by Dr Togba-Na Tipoteh, a spokesman for the oppositionist Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA). It takes Tolbert to task on the April 1979 "rice riots", unemployment, the economy, and human rights.

### Mauritania

Dahmani, Abdelaziz. "Mauritania: Glissement vers le Polisario?" Jeune Afrique, No. 993, 16 January 1980, p. 31.

Pro-Moroccan and pro-Western officials have been purged from the government and from the Military Committee of National Salvation. Of the 18 officers who emerged following the 10 July 1978 coup, only 6 are still active. Although recent purges have rendered both the military leadership and the government more "homogeneous," the process has been at the expense of Mauritanian neutrality, tipping the scales toward Algeria and the Polisario.

### Morocco

"Morocco: Secret Talks with Algeria?" Africa Confidential, Vol. 21, No. 3, 30 January 1980, pp. 5-6.

Nearly all Moroccans strongly believe that Algerian troops in Polisario uniforms account for the increase in the size of Polisario forces. As a result, there has been increased talk in Moroccan political and military circles in favor of a "final solution" which could include "taking out Tindouf." Nevertheless, it is felt likely that talks, perhaps secret, between Algeria and Morocco have been going on, especially in light of the Moroccan claim that bilateral talks with Algeria are the only solution to the problem in the Western Sahara.

"Morocco: Intensified Isolation." Africa Confidential, Vol. 21, No. 1, 2 January 1980, pp. 3-5.

Following the Iranian Revolution and the events at the Grand Mosque in Mecca, Hassan has cracked down on Islamic extremist sects. His claim to religious leadership has come under increasing attack when juxtaposed with his lavish lifestyle. The upswing in Muslim fundamentalist activities comes at a time of growing economic hardship for Moroccans, who increasingly view the war in the Western Sahara as a waste of valuable resources. The Army also remains a potent threat to the King.

Vergara, Francisco. "Maroc: Le Salut par les phosphates." Jeune Afrique No. 996, 6 February 1980, p. 40.

The Cherifien Office of Phosphates (OCP) will shortly announce a new 5-year plan which will depend heavily on phosphate production--to the extent that phosphates will represent almost one-half of the State investment. In the next 5 years, five mines and two phosphoric acid plants will be opened and work on the mining port of Jorf Lasfar, 120 km south of Casablanca, will be speeded up. As the best American phosphate deposits dwindle, Morocco anticipates a rise in the American (and thus the international) phosphate price. (Economic problems will not be solved, though.)

### Namibia

Belfiglio, Valentine J. "The Issue of Namibian Independence." African Affairs, October 1979, pp. 507-22.

Reviews Pretoria's interests in the establishment of an independent government in Namibia. Although basically opposed to a SWAPO government, South Africa could still find such a regime acceptable if Namibia remained economically dependent on South Africa.

### Nigeria

Beckett, Paul A. "University Students and Institutions in Nigerian Society." Paper presented at the Colloquium on Nigeria, Dept. of State, 3 October 1979.

University students constitute less than 0.2 percent of Nigeria's population yet they will ultimately control the upper reaches of all public sector institutions. Although professional family backgrounds are over-represented among students, farming backgrounds are far more prevalent. Reflecting Nigerian society as a whole, the most pressing problem facing the university system is that of regional balance; the experiment in centralizing policy for all 13 of Nigeria's universities has failed. Students believe that they are the most "nationalistic" sector of society and highly regard military officers as military men, but not as politicians. Surveys also indicate strong admiration for American society and achievements, despite anti-American outbursts.

DeLancey, Mark W. "Nigeria: Foreign Policy Alternatives." Paper presented at the Colloquium on Nigeria, Dept. of State, 3 October 1979.

Nigerian foreign policy during the period from independence until the coups of 1966 was characterized by caution and conservatism. After the civil war, foreign policy became more active and bold. Policy during the first period was determined by the personality of the Prime Minister, powerful regional governments, a lack of national consensus, and ethnic and ideological splits among the population. The Biafra secession convinced Nigeria that it had to gain the friendship of neighboring governments, that it could no longer rely on one power bloc for its arms, and that white-dominated regimes in Southern Africa were a threat to Nigerian security. Nigeria's huge population, oil wealth, and large military put it in a position of continental influence in Africa.

Macebuh, Stanley. "Limits of Tribal Loyalty in Nigeria." West Africa, 7 January 1980, pp. 13-14.

Debunking the myth of tribal cohesiveness in Nigerian politics, the author cites the antipathy between Chief Awolowo and former Head of State, General Obasanjo. The recent war of words between these Yorubas is examined. Macebuh concludes that Awolowo blames Obasanjo for indirectly awarding the Presidency to Shagari, thereby denying Awolowo a chance in a run-off vote.

Paden, John N. "Islam, Constitutional Change, and Politics in Nigeria." Paper presented at the Colloquium on Nigeria, Dept. of State, 3 October 1979.

An examination of the impact of Islam on Nigerian political development through the factor of political culture. Particular attention is paid to the new constitutional framework vis-a-vis Islamic traditions. Political culture in Kano State is reviewed in depth through the dimensions of education, commerce, labor, and agriculture.

Samuels, Michael A. "How the New Constitutional Structure in Nigeria Will Work." Paper presented at the Colloquium on Nigeria, Dept. of State, 3 October 1979.

The 1979 elections have provided cause for optimism about the future of politics in Nigeria. The tribal factor was much less in evidence than at independence and there will be greater need to form coalitions. Among disappointments was Chief Awolowo's challenge to the election results and continued opposition to the system. Newly-created matters of political interest will be: the development of an "executive mentality," politicization of senior administrative positions, executive-legislative interaction, non-military destabilizing forces (UPN, labor union, students, news media), multiparty activities at the local level, and tension between federal and state priorities.

Schatz, Sayre P. "Nigeria: Economic Overview." Paper presented at the Colloquium on Nigeria, Dept. of State, 3 October 1979.

Since the oil boom of the 1970s, the Nigerian economy has experienced cyclical development. When government spending outstripped oil revenues due to dropping oil prices in 1977, it was forced to restrict expenditures. Prices have once again risen, perpetuating the cycle. The rising expectations of Nigerians will probably grow into discontent, paving the way for a military takeover.

Spiliotes, Nicholas J. "Indigenization, Foreign Investment and Trade: Implications for Nigerian Foreign Policy." Paper presented at the Colloquium on Nigeria, Dept. of State, 3 October 1979.

The intent of the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1972 was to increase Nigerian participation in the national economy by restricting or banning foreign investment in certain areas of business. In the long term, the decree has slowed down development by "scaring off" foreign capital. Nigeria has used the "oil weapon" in pursuit of its goals in Southern Africa. Over the last 5 years, Nigeria has had success in discouraging investment by the UK in South Africa; US investment has greatly increased.

Whitaker, C.S., Jr. "Second Beginnings: The New Political Framework in Nigeria." Paper presented at the Colloquium on Nigeria, Dept. of State, 3 October 1979.

Neither economic or political ideology, nor religion, nor external state relations, nor tribalism played any significant part in the collapse of the first republic nor is there any indication that these factors will operate decisively in the future. Past political bitterness centered on political structure, social representation and equity, and cultural integrity and security. Within the next 4 to 8 years, stability is probable. The new constitution and certain administrative measures have as their framework Nigerian, rather than Western, experiences--a highly promising development for the future of Nigerian democracy.

Wilson, Dr. Ernest J. "Critical Issues of Energy Policies in Nigeria: Policies of Capture and Distribution." Paper presented at the Colloquium on Nigeria, Dept. of State, 3 October 1979.

One of the most important issues facing the new civilian administration is determining how Nigeria will capture the full benefits of its energy resources (which include oil, coal, natural gas, hydropower, solar energy) and the method of distribution of revenues to Nigerians. Unlike many Arab states, a huge, mobilized population is pressing the Nigerian Government for equitable distribution of these energy revenues.

#### Rhodesia

Delap, Mick. "The April 1979 Elections in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia." African Affairs, October 1979, pp. 431-39.

Discussion of "free and fair" character of the April elections as evaluated by the Chitnis, Palley, and Boyd reports. The author believes that the key element in judging the elections must be whether or not any settlement is acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole. Under this criteria, none of the reports can claim that the people were voting for a particular settlement but were under a variety of pressures.

Mufuka, K. Nyamayaro. "Rhodesia's Internal Settlement: A Tragedy." African Affairs, October 1979, pp. 439-50.

An assessment of the internal agreement and the factors influencing its inception. The author concludes that the settlement has further polarized the situation and made a lasting solution more difficult. Contains some analyses of various Rhodesian political figures and their efforts to keep up with changing circumstances.

Windrich, Elaine. "Rhodesian Censorship: The Role of the Media in the Making of a One-Party State." African Affairs, October 1979, pp. 523-34.

Government suppression of dissidence over the past 15 years in Rhodesia has impacted on the freedom of the press to criticize official policies or the Rhodesian Front Party. The result has been the creation of a virtual one-party state. These same tactics appear to be used by the Muzorewa government to bolster support for the internal settlement.

#### Senegal

Schaetzen, Yves de. Une interview de M. Louis Alexandrenne Ministre du Plan et de la Cooperation. Afrique Industrie, 1 January 1980, pp. 36-40.

In an interview, Mr. Alexandrenne stated, "We shall be very satisfied to be able to realize 75 percent of the objectives of the readjusted Fifth Plan." Among projects which will go ahead are the project to exploit the Tobene phosphates, the extension of Senemetallurgie (although its realization will be delayed), and the spinning-weaving project. The dam construction projects will also go forward (Guidel, Arrambe, and Bignona).

#### Somalia

Bailey, Bob and Graham Hancock. "Mobile Force Plan Marks Radical Shift in US Policy." Middle East Economic Digest, 4 January 1980, pp. 12 & 15.

The US decision to create a rapid deployment force which could put up to 50,000 troops anywhere in the world in a matter of days is dependent on being able to use bases in Africa and the Middle East. Berbera, on the northern Somali coast, has a well-equipped naval and air base. The authors contend that the price for US access to this port is high possible future involvement in another Somali war against Ethiopia. No lesser commitment would persuade the Somalis to give up their nonaligned status.



### South Africa

Adam, Heribert. "The costs of South Africa's future." Queen's Quarterly, Winter 1978-79, pp. 615-22. [As abstracted in International Political Science Abstracts, Vol. 29, No. 4-5.]

The author discusses three possible routes which South Africa may pursue in order to cut the "costs" of white privilege: abdication, coercion or co-optation.

Hull, Galen. "South Africa's Propaganda War: A Bibliographic Essay." African Studies Review, December 1979, pp. 79-98.

While presenting data on many sources concerning the Muldergate scandal and South Africa's information campaign, the author discusses some organizations involved in work in Washington. Among these are the South Africa Foundation, lobbying firms, the Club of Ten, Sydney S. Baron and John McGoff. Concise description of the Information Department's various programs.

Olivier, G.C. "Conflict Regulation in South Africa: Options Open to the Afrikaner Power Establishment." Politikon, June 1979, pp. 3-12.

The author evaluates methods to bring about meaningful change in South Africa towards a "non-racial" society within the parameter of options acceptable to the Afrikaner power elite. He concludes that majority rule would not be acceptable in the South African situation and that rather a system of "equal groups" or a type of consociational democracy would most effectively promote political stability.

Stewart, James B. "Contemporary Patterns of Black-White Political Economic Inequality in the United States and South Africa." The Review of Black Political Economy, Summer 1979, pp. 359-91.

Despite superficial differences in intent, the policies of apartheid and equal opportunity produce similar effects. Income distribution among blacks and whites in the US and South Africa has shown similar trends which indicate that the outcome of differing policies is the same. Other factors, such as labor market structures, educational opportunities, and political participation have combined to restrict black advancement in both cases.

Vosloo, W.B. "Consociational democracy as a means to accomplish peaceful political change in South Africa: an evaluation of the constitutional change proposed by the National Party in 1977." Politikon, June 1979, pp. 13-28.

A detailed analysis of constitutional trends in South Africa since 1910 including an outline of the most recent proposals for change. Special emphasis is laid on the problem of differing population groups and efforts to provide some form of representation for each. The article ends with a suggestion that consociational democracy could lead to regional revolution, possibly meaning a canton-style solution.

#### Sudan

Lobban, Robert A., Jr. "Class, Endogamy and Urbanization in the 'Three Towns' of the Sudan." The African Studies Review, December 1979, pp. 99-114.

A socio-historical study of class "formation and urbanization" in the 'Three Town' "agglomeration embracing Khartoum, Khartoum North and Omdurman." Essentially, "the rise of more complex systems of class stratification is associated with decline of former patterns of endogamy."

#### Togo

"The President is trying to kill me." To the Point, 7 December 1979, p. 20.

A short article detailing an accusation by Gilchrist Olympio (a son of the late Togolese President, Sylvanus Olympio) that President Eyadema had tried to assassinate him in Paris. The article refers to Togo as a "haven of peace and prosperity . . . free from the the graft that blots most other West African countries." Also examined are the mercenary plots directed against Eyadema in 1976 and 1977 and the principals involved.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA  
(Received in March 1980)  
Africa General

Ingram, Derek. "Tory Policy in Africa." Africa Report, March-April 1980, pp. 4-8.

In retrospect, it appears that Britain has been able to decolonize Africa only through successive Tory governments. The Conservatives have been successful in this regard due to two factors: their basically pragmatic approach to foreign affairs and their ability to carry the opposition in these maneuvers. British relations with Africa have revolved around the Rhodesian problem in the past, but now Britain will have to face criticism over its role in South Africa. It is unclear how Thatcher's conservative government will deal with this problem.

Jackman, Robert W. "The Predictability of Coups d'etat: A Model With African Data." The American Political Science Review, Vol. 72, No. 4, December 1978, pp. 1262-75.

Estimates a model for the structural determinants of coups d'etat for new black African states from 1960 through 1975. Results indicate that (1) both social mobilization and the presence of a dominant ethnic group are destabilizing; (2) multipartyism is destabilizing while electoral turnout in the last election before independence is stabilizing; (3) multipartyism is particularly destabilizing where a dominant ethnic group exists; (4) the presence of such a group reduces (but does not eliminate) the stabilizing effect of turnout; and (5) multipartyism has no pronounced effect on elite instability where turnout is high. Taken together, these patterns account for over four-fifths of the variance in coups d'etat in black Africa in the period considered.

Kapcia, A.M. "Cuba's African Involvement: A New Perspective." Survey: A Journal of East and West Studies, Spring 1979, pp. 142-59.

The author reviews generally popular theories regarding the motivations behind Cuban involvement in Africa, including the "Soviet Pawn" theory, search for resources, internal political pressures, and the Third World Strategy. He largely dismisses the first two views, although admitting the necessity of Soviet support for Cuban expenditures. He concludes that a mixture of internal political factors and a desire to reestablish Cuban credentials in the Third World following some disappointments in Latin America, are primarily responsible for Cuban involvement in Africa.

Murray, Roger. "Africa Considers Relations With Israel." African Business, December 1979, pp. 16-18.

The question of African nations reestablishing relations with Israel is explored. Many African states are dissatisfied with the level of Arab aid since relations with Israel were severed after the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. At the OAU Summit in July 1979, the Ivory Coast and Senegal were unsuccessful in their attempt to put a motion on the agenda recommending normalization of relations. Trade relations between Israel and other African nations, especially South Africa, are discussed.

Ravenhill, John. "Regional Integration and Development in Africa: Lessons from the East African Community." The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, November 1979, pp. 227-47.

The author draws on a case study of the East African Community, one of the most sophisticated regional cooperative arrangements undertaken in the Third World. He seeks to identify the factors that have caused the failure of integrative schemes in the past, and which are likely, except under strict conditions, to continue to do so in the foreseeable future.

Rosberg, Carl and Callaghy, Thomas M., eds. Socialism in Sub-Saharan Africa. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California. [as reviewed in Foreign Affairs, Fall 1979]

"With the exception of the essay on Mozambique, which extends only to 1972, this collection provides an excellent review of contemporary African socialism. Particularly distinguished by Jowitt's analysis of the general uses of socialist ideology in Africa, the case studies together show the continuing distance between rhetoric and governance and the reasons why this gap is likely to persist for some time."

Washington, Shirley. "Portugal/Africa: Toward a New Relationship." Africa Report, March-April 1980, pp. 17-22.

A variety of economic and political reasons have drawn Portugal and her former colonies together: historic links, common language, a need for continuity in administration, and trade relations. Two factors may threaten the growth of these relations: the death of Angolan President Neto and the victory of the right in Portugal's recent election. Neto's successors may not favor close ties with Portugal, while conservatives now in power in the Portuguese parliament favor strict trade relations with African nations which could be seen as "neo-colonialist."

Wiberg, Hakan. "The Horn of Africa." Journal of Peace Research, No. 3, 1979. pp. 189-96.

The author attempts to outline the complex of interests that makes the Horn of Africa, like Indochina, a region where it is possible for two states professing socialism in a Marxist-Leninist version to engage in war with each other; and why one of these states is at war with Marxist-Leninist liberation movements. Interestingly, he sees the USSR as having the greatest chance, and desire, to bring some form of peace to this region because this nation shares their political orientation, if not their policies.

## Algeria

"Algeria Plans a Return to the Land." Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 24, No. 6, 8 February 1980, pp. 4-5.

Spending on agriculture, neglected by the last development plan (1974-77), will be given high priority in the 1980-84 plan. Farm exports have dropped as a result of the drive to industrialize and a population drift towards the cities. Although the cooperative system is still largely experimental, the official goal is 80 percent self-sufficiency by the year 2000.

"Algeria set for huge profits as gas prices edge upwards." Middle East Newsletter, No. 133, 10-23 March 1980, pp. 5-6.

Western Europe, committed to the use of natural gas for a larger proportion of its energy needs, fears that the price of that gas could pass that of oil by as much as 20 percent. Algeria, ideally situated to satisfy those gas needs, has notified its customers of an impending price rise. Nouredine Ait Laousine, former head of Sonatrach (Algeria's state-owned gas producer), offers reasons why gas prices should exceed those of oil: gas is cleaner, gas contracts are for longer terms, and gas contracts pose fewer foreign exchange problems.

Belhassen, Souhayr. "Des Algeriens dans le coup." Jeune Afrique, No. 998, 20 February 1980, pp. 31-32.

To avoid conflict on two fronts, Tunisia prefers to turn a blind eye to Algerian complicity in the attack on Qafsa (Gafsa). The attack is seen as an example of the political infighting within the FLN; a veiled implication is made that Saleh Yahiaoui was involved. Before the attack, the 28 men of the "Amr Ibn el-Ass" Brigade were entertained in Algeria by one "Saïd" (or "Chakib"), reportedly acting for Sliman Hoffman, head of the Commission on International Relations of the FLN. Tunisia is also ignoring Russia's role in the attack.

Schissel, Howard. "Algeria's foreign debt is no burden." The Middle East, February 1980, pp. 74-75.

Abdelatif Ben Achenou, Director of the Algerian Center for Applied Economics and Executive Secretary of the Association of Third World Economists, is interviewed concerning economic development and Algeria's new Five Year Plan. He admits Algeria's problems with distribution facilities, increasing population and unemployment. He strongly advocates pan-Arab industrial cooperation and collective self-reliance.

## Botswana

Picard, Louis A. "Rural Development in Botswana: Administrative Structures and Public Policy." The Journal of Developing Areas, April 1979, pp. 283-300.

In the post-independence period, the government of Botswana has tried to develop a strategy towards control of rural economic growth. Due to capital and manpower shortages, this effort has been directed largely by expatriate experts. Ultimate establishment of new programs or institutions has been carefully controlled by the political-social elite which has been interested in maintaining the present economic and social order at the expense of rural development.

### Cameroon

Abiabag, Issa. "La succession du President de la Republique d'apres la Revision Constitutionnelle du 29 Juin 1979 au Cameroun." Revue Juridique et Politique Independance et Cooperation, No. 4, October-December 1979, pp. 443-49.

In June 1979, the Cameroonian Prime Minister was "constitutionally" named as successor to the President, thus making him the "second person in the state hierarchy." Will he also be named "second person in the party" at the next meeting of the UNC in Bafoussam? The PM now is only "one" member of the party Central Committee.

Bayart, Jean-Francois. L'Etat au Cameroun. Paris: Presses de la Foundation nationale des sciences politiques, 1979, 298 pp., [as reviewed in the Revue francaise de science politique, Vol. 29, No. 6, December 1979, pp. 1108-11.]

J. F. Medard, of the Center of Black African Studies in Bordeaux, calls this book "one of the best monographs published to date on an African political system." Medard refers to the author as "a pioneer . . . in the third generation of Third World-specialists."

Joseph, Richard A. Radical nationalism in Cameroun, social origins of the UPC rebellion. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977, 383 pp. [as reviewed in the Revue francaise de science politique, Vol. 29, No. 3, June 1979, pp. 513-16.]

"Richard Joseph gives us the first serious study on the Union of Cameroonian Peoples (UPC) and on this decisive aspect of [Cameroonian] political history: the birth of a radical nationalist movement, and its failure (echec) to take control of [Cameroonian] independence."

### Congo

"La constitution congolaise." Afrique Contemporaine, No. 107, January-February 1980, pp. 24-30.

A French-language copy of the Congolese Constitution of July 1979.

### Equatorial Guinea

Decraenem, Philippe. "Le putsch de Guinea Equitoriale," Revue francaise d'etudes politiques africaines, September-October 1979, pp. 25-44.

This article contains a brief overall historical view of Equatorial Guinea from Spanish colonial times through the "bloody" rule of former President N'Guema (to 1979). The author concludes that the August 1979 "putsch" merely replaced one dictator with an equally unsavory military dictatorship; after all, the military had originally supported N'Guema. The article ends with these words: ". . . the struggle continues."



### Ethiopia

Chege, Michael. "The Revolution Betrayed: Ethiopia, 1974-79." The Journal of Modern African Studies, No. 3, 1979, pp. 359-80.

The social forces behind the overthrow of the monarchy in 1974 had the vision of a democratic future devoid of feudal backwardness and oppression. Whether it was possible to proceed from there to a socialist transformation of society was rendered academic by the rise of a military dictatorship reminiscent of Bonapartism, devoid of any popular class base, and beholden to the Soviet Union. The author describes how the ideals animating the revolution of 1974 have been betrayed.

### Gabon

Dyatelm, NDING. "Observations sur la premiere partie du Code Civil gabonais." Revue Juridique et Politique Independance et Cooperation, No. 4, October-December 1979, pp. 395-414.

NDING Dyatelm, "Laureat of the Dakar Law Faculty, Omar Bongo University," discusses various aspects of Gabon's Civil Code, including such topics as "the Law and the Family," "the Law and the Individual," "Basic Rights," etc.

### Ghana

Morrison, Thomas K. "The Political Economy of Export Instability in Developing Countries: The Case of Ghana." Journal of African Studies, Vol. 6, No. 3, Fall 1979, pp. 159-64.

The most serious consequences of export instability are related to its impact on the government budget. No automatic stabilizers cushion the effect of an export shortfall on government revenues in lesser developed countries. In many countries, the central governments play dominant roles in their economies and a revenue shortfall can cause serious disruptions. Ghana's dependence on cocoa and its problems with export earnings fluctuations is used as a case study.

### Guinea

Yasane, Aguibou Y. "Monetary Indpendence and Transition to Socialism in Guinea." Journal of African Studies, Vol. 6, No. 3, Fall 1979, pp. 132-43.

Guinea is not a member of the West African Monetary Union (UMOA), and since 1960 it has operated its own banking system. This article investigates Guinea's creation of a new currency and an independent monetary system. Initially, the Guinean franc became subject to speculation and a lack of confidence. The break with France has succeeded in eliminating the neocolonial structure, but until Guinea recently adopted a nonaligned posture, Western investment was slow in coming.

### Guinea-Bissau

Dianoux, Hugues Jean de. "La Guinee-Bissau et les iles du Cap-Vert." Afrique Contemporaine, No. 107, January-February 1980, pp. 1-16.

Subdivisions of the article include: "History," "The struggle for independence," "Guinea-Bissau since independence: the political situation/the economic situation," and "Cape Verde since independence: the political situation/the economic situation."

### Ivory Coast

Alalade, F.O. "President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the Ivory Coast, and France." Journal of African Studies, Vol. 6, No. 3, Fall 1979, pp. 123-31.

A short history of the political development of the Ivory Coast in which the role of President Houphouet-Boigny is examined in depth. His relationships with De Gaulle, France, and Guinea are points of central concern. An analysis of United Nations voting patterns indicates that the Ivory Coast has not been a "lackey" of France or the United States.

### Kenya

Leys, Colin. "Development Strategy in Kenya Since 1971." Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 13, 1979, pp. 295-320.

Kenya's development is of particular interest because, in common with a quite limited number of other African countries south of the Sahara, it has experience relatively high and sustained rates of economic growth based on the dominance of foreign and domestic private capital. The author attempts an analysis of the development strategy in the 1970s in terms of the general character of Kenyan development--that is, as an expression or a product, of the balance of class forces which has produced the kind of development that Kenya has experienced. It is, in essence, an attempt to go beyond the official sources, such as economic surveys and budget speeches, and to identify the social forces which determine the real scope and effect of official policies.

### Liberia

"A Loyal Opposition." West Africa, 18 February 1980, pp. 292-94.

An interview with Mr. Gabriel Baccus Matthews, chairman of the Progressive Alliance of Liberia (PAL) now registered as the Progressive People's Party (PPP). Matthews states that the PAL is a revolutionary movement committed to African socialism and pragmatism, but not to violence. PAL draws its support from workers, students, and rural peasants. PAL is a loyal opposition--loyal to continued commitment to change and loyalty to the people. Matthews does not think that the PPP will contest the Monrovia mayoralty race; fielding candidates in other parts of the country appears more likely. Commenting on the differences between the PAL and the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), Matthews claims that MOJA is less concerned with local problems and more with pan-Africanism and support for liberation movements.

"Mobilizing the Masses." West Africa, 18 February 1980, pp. 294-97.

An interview with Dr. Togba-Nah Tipoteh, chairman of the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA). Tipoteh characterizes Liberia as a product of the slave-master society of 19th century America. How, he asks, can President Tolbert call for "one man, one vote" in South Africa when Liberia prohibits its landless citizens from voting at all? MOJA is not planning to form a political party; it is concentrating its activities on mass mobilization and consciousness raising. A sister organization, Susukuu, Inc., acts as a labor consultant for workers and farmers. Also included is a short summary of Tipoteh's work since 1971.

#### Malawi

Williams, David. Malawi: The Politics of Despair. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979, 339 pp. [as reviewed in International Affairs (Oxford), October 1979, pp. 635-36.]

The author provides an up-to-date account of the domestic political structure and the economic development strategies since independence and their prospects. Then he makes an analysis of the "Machiavellian calculus" of Dr. Banda's foreign policy which is to maintain his country's independence and to avoid entangling alliances. Malawi is too weak to be either a formidable foe or a valuable ally, but Dr. Banda has not hesitated to speak critically of his neighbors and has resisted attempts by countries comfortably distant from the front line to make Malawi a potential battleground or a haven for heavily armed guerrillas.

#### Mali

Perinbam, B. Marie. "Change and Continuity in Malian History." Department of History, University of Maryland. Prepared for the US Department of State for a briefing for Ambassador Anne Holloway, 19 November 1979, 6 pp.

Maliens are characterized by their sense of change and continuity in history. They view history as an uninterrupted dialogue between rapid or perceptible change and slow but intractable change. All change occurs within the Malian cultural context. Cultural forces at work include: the social, political and economic, visual and acoustical structures of Malian society.

#### Mauritania

"Heydallah Consolidates." Africa Confidential. Vol. 21, No. 5, 27 February 1980, pp. 2-4.

With the rise of President Heydallah, Mauritania, for the first time, has a fairly harmonious team running the country. Since the July 1978 coup toppling Moktar Ould Daddah, more senior officers have been lost than in three and a half years of conflict in the Western Sahara. Of the 16 original ministers in the first post-coup government, only six remain. The leadership is becoming younger and more leftist. Heydallah, with French aid, has largely settled the threat of destabilization by Morocco and has decided to extend for six more years the use of Arabic and French. The remaining problem is the economy.

### Morocco

Morgan, Susan. "Moroccans look hard for silver lining." The Middle East, February 1980, pp. 62-63.

Although Hassan's situation now is better than a year ago, the once-popular war in the Sahara is beginning to hurt Moroccans. Some now claim that the true causes of the country's recession are fundamental economic mismanagement during the 1974-78 period and a rising birth rate. Today, the international banking community is tending to lose confidence in Morocco's ability to repay its debts.

### Nigeria

Boam, T.A., Brigadier. "Nigeria's Staff College." The Army Quarterly and Defence Journal, Vol. 108, No. 3, July 1978, pp. 269-77.

After the civil war, Nigeria had a large number of officers in its army which it could not adequately train. Many were sent abroad to service schools and staff colleges; but this practice resulted in a nucleus of officers with no common system of staff procedures. In response, in 1975 with the aid of a British military team, Nigeria established its own staff college. The author, a member of the original team sent to Nigeria, describes the school's development.

Frank, Lawrence P. "Ideological Competition in Nigeria: Urban Populism versus Elite Nationalism." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 17, No. 3, 1979, pp. 433-52.

Elite nationalism and urban populism are two competing ideologies in Nigeria which reflect the contradictory interests held by local-urban politicians and by the functional elites that dominate federal politics. Nationalism maximizes opportunities for elites; tribalism, therefore, becomes a more attractive ideology to urban masses. Ethnic differentiation (populism) and identity are more useful than nationalism in developing popular support.

Skurnik, W.A.E. "Ivoirien Student Perceptions of U.S. African Policy." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 17, No. 3, 1979, pp. 409-32.

A statistical analysis using the questionnaire to measure student reaction to US policy in Africa. Administered in 1976 to 327 university students, the questions were grouped into four categories: general attitudes, economic relations, past events, and contemporary events. Respondents were classified according to age, tribal affiliation, family background, sex, and religion. Of the 22 questions on US policy, 63 percent received greater approval than opposition.

### Rhodesia

Gutteridge, William. "Towards a New Military Establishment: The Case of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia." South Africa International, October 1979, pp. 57-63.

In assessing the possibility of a meaningful transfer of power to a black government in Rhodesia, the author maintains that blacks must be completely integrated into the armed forces. The black element should include those of all ethnic and political persuasions and must be given proportionate officer billets. He concludes with a reference to similar problems eventually arising in Namibia and South Africa.

### Rwanda

Durieux, Andre. "La Nouvelle Constitution du 20 Decembre 1978 de la Republique rwandaise." Revue Juridique et Politique Independance et Cooperation, No. 4, October-December 1979, pp. 467-68.

This is merely an addendum to the text of the Constitution as published in the Revue Juridique, No. 3, 1979, pp. 295ff.

### Somalia

Herzog, Jorge. "La politique exterieure des dirigeants somaliens." Revue Francais d'Etudes Politiques Africaines, September-October 1979, pp. 45-60.

The author describes the Ogaden factor in Somalian foreign policy as being their "Alsace-Lorraine." He concludes that this irredentism cannot be eradicated from the Somalian psyche and that changes in their foreign policy will not be forthcoming in regard to this region.

### South Africa

Martin, Denis. "Soweto Entre Les Lignes: Quelques livres recents sur l'Afrique du Sud." Revue francaise de science politique, December 1979, pp. 1090-1107.

A review of recent literature concerning the debate over South Africa's future. Fifteen books are discussed, ranging from South African Government literature, South African apologists and vociferous critics. The author concludes that despite this debate, the country's future will be settled by the majority of its inhabitants.

#### Sudan

el-Khawas, Mohamed A. "Southern Sudan in Historical Perspective." A Current Bibliography on African Affairs, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1979-80, pp. 149-65.

Professor el-Khawas studies the political and socio-economic roots leading up to the north/south civil war (1955-72) and after. British colonial policies in the Sudan are blamed in good part for the problem. The author concludes: "[The] future of a stable Sudan will depend heavily on the rapid reconstruction of the south which cannot be accomplished without massive international loans and technical assistance."

el-Sayed, el-Bushra. "Some Demographic Indicators for Khartoum Conurbation, Sudan." Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 15, No. 3, October 1979, pp. 295-309.

"This paper is primarily concerned with the growth, structure and distribution of population" within the 'Khartoum conurbation.' The 'Khartoum conurbation' is composed of the three cities of Khartoum North, Omdurman, and Khartoum, situated at the confluence of the White and Blue Nile Rivers.

#### Togo

Taton, Robert. "Le General Eyadema plebiscite." Europe Outremer, September 1979, pp. 7-12.

Taton discusses Eyadema's recent (December 1979) election as the first President of the Third Togolese Republic. The article concludes with an overview of Togo's "progress" during the past 13 years under Eyadema's rule.

Weiss, Danielle. "Interview du General d'armee Gnassingbe Eyadema, President de la Republique du Togo." Europe Outremer, September 1979, pp. 3-5.

An interview with President Eyadema. The President outlines "the new social, economic and cultural politics" in Togo's "First Plan." Other secondary topics are discussed briefly.

#### Tunisia

Barouhi, Abdelaziz. "Comment l'armee a repris le dessus." Jeune Afrique, No. 996, 6 February 1980, pp. 45-49.

Details concerning the Libyan-inspired attack on the Tunisian town of Qafsa (Gafsa) as well as the Tunisian Army's counterattack are related. The article includes a schematic map of the area and provides statistics on losses.

Zaire

Kabwit, Ghislain. "Zaire: The Roots of the Continuing Crisis." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 17, No. 3, September 1979, pp. 381-407.

Subunits of this article include: "The rise of Mobutu to political power," "Problems of corruption and economic mismanagement," and "Future prospects." The author concludes: "Those who [believe] . . . that Zaire's basic problems are merely external are building their houses on sand . . . . Only in the post-Mobutu era are there prospects of national reconciliation and true democracy."

"Mobutu's survival programme." Foreign Report (London), 19 December 1979, pp. 6-8.

"Mobutu has been moving to shore up his country's defences against the threat of a new invasion of . . . Shaba province," most notably through diplomatic agreements with neighboring countries, military reorganization in Shaba, and Western (French and Belgian) military/adviser assistance. Despite these successes, "the central problems of bankruptcy, basic political reform . . . and military security against outside invasion . . . remain."

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA  
(Received in April 1980)

Africa General

Chari, P.R. "The Indian Ocean: Strategic Issues." International Studies, April-June 1979, pp. 163-76.

The "zone of peace" for the Indian Ocean, which the 1970 Lusaka Non-Aligned Conference called for, is unlikely to become a reality. Not only do the Great Powers disagree with the zone's objectives but even the littoral countries differ about external military presence.

Leymarie, Philippe. "Sujet du Mois: L'Afrique, continent des refugies." Revue Francaise d'Etudes Politiques Africaines, November 1979-January 1980, pp. 15-106.

A series of articles on the general subject of refugees in Africa is included. They encompass: The dimensions of the calamity and the tasks of the High Commission for Refugees; Major concentrations of refugees; Travel routes of the children; Chances for integration; Financing the burden; The Arusha Debate (May 1979).

Mazrui, Ali. "Africa's Nuclear Future." Survival (IISS), March/April 1980, pp. 76-79.

Professor Mazrui contends that Africa's acquisition of nuclear capabilities would benefit both that continent and the world. Arguing that imperialism, in part, was the monopoly stage of warfare, he suggests that a nuclear Africa would increase world pressures for disarmament while for such states as Nigeria and Zaire "going nuclear would be a new initiation, an important rite of passage, a recovery of adulthood." Mazrui remarks that an increased Western dependence on nuclear energy "would constitute a reconsolidation of the West's economic hegemony."

Ogunbadejo, Oye. "Conservatism and Radicalism in Inter-African Relations: The Case of Nigeria and Tanzania." The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1979, pp. 23-33.

Many writers and commentators on the African scene have tended to divide Africa into two main camps: the "conservatives" and the "radicals". This paper examines the relations between two African states which epitomize these labels. They are also miles apart ideologically and politically. This paper attempts to determine what effect their respective "tags" have on their inter-state relations and foreign policy objectives.

Taapopi, Leonard and T.A. Keenleyside. "The West and Southern Africa: Economic Involvement and Support for Liberation 1960-1974." Revue Canadienne des Etudes Africaines, No. 3, 1980, pp. 347-70.

The authors attempt to draw a correlation between financial involvement in southern Africa and support for decolonization there. They conclude that those



countries with significant financial assets in southern Africa have been less supportive of the liberation groups but have not necessarily opposed decolonization. The authors raise the question as to whether such western countries may actually obstruct further changes in the region but do not provide any answer.

Weinstein, Warren. "African Perspectives on Human Rights." Paper prepared for the Department of State, March 1980.

The study reviews emerging African opinions on human rights as revealed in several international conferences held in Africa since 1975. It concludes that a "general positive African opinion is emerging on the need for greater attention to be paid to human rights in Africa by Africans, that development depends on this, that the approaches must come from Africans, and that protection of human rights depends on an educated and aware African population capable of understanding their rights and insisting on protection for them." The report also points out the implications of these findings for policies and programs by the Department of State, ICA, and AID.

#### Algeria

Howe, John. "Algeria: Keeping up the good work." Africa, February 1980, pp. 32 & 37.

In December 1979, the Algerian FLN Central Committee, the country's highest political institution, met to pass resolutions in a number of areas. There are to be no departures from the socialist options laid down by the late President Boumedienne; however, there will be new approaches in some areas. Arabization is to be given greater emphasis, but Algeria cannot do without high-level French scientific training. Population growth, and the pressures it puts on social services, remains the major problem. FLN cells will be formed within enterprises as mandated in January 1979.

Nellis, John R. "Maladministration: Cause or Result of Underdevelopment? The Algerian Example." Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1980, pp. 407-22.

Both the population and the political leadership in Algeria admit that public administration functions poorly and is a serious constraint to the government's development objectives. The bureaucracy is actively mistrusted. The article presents an agenda for future work.

#### Chad

"Chad violence erupts again." West Africa, 31 March 1980, pp. 565-66.

Early reporting and discussion of the renewed fighting and the basic lack of central power and administration in Chad.

Criton, Jean-Claude and Raymond Depardon. "Tchad: un pays qui eclate." Paris Match, 11 April 1980, pp. 34-43.

"The war between the partisan forces of Hissene Habre and Goukouni Oueddei and his allies is savage....The [civil] war is a series of attacks and counter-attacks. Fighting goes on from house to house and from street to street." This is primarily a photographic essay on the "horrors" of the Chadian civil war. Criton concludes the article: "How much longer will it continue?"

Maiga, Mohamed. "Haro sur un homme fort." Jeune Afrique, 2 April 1980, p. 30.

The fragile truce between the various factions in the Chadian civil war that was reached in Lagos, Nigeria, on 11 August 1979, collapsed on 20 March 1980. The battle for control of the capital has begun. All of the major factions now have troops fighting in N'Djamena. The latest twist is that now "a single common enemy has been identified: Hissene Habre," Defense Minister in the Government of National Union of Chad (GUNT). According to his colleagues in the GUNT, Habre is primarily responsible for the latest outbreak of violence. He reportedly is "consumed with ambition" and "will not be content unless he is 'number one.'" Although Habre's forces are the best equipped in Chad, he has succeeded in creating "a united front against himself."

"Tchad: la reconciliation difficile." Afrique Contemporaine, January-February 1980, pp 20-21.

"The signing of the 'agreement' in Lagos, Nigeria, on 21 August 1979, is one step in the direction of national reconciliation." The article goes on to discuss some of the difficulties that face the successful implementation of the "agreement." In light of the recent (March 1980) outbreak of fighting in Chad, this article is dated and may be of some use as historical background material.

#### Ethiopia

"Another Place Kremlin is Bugged Down." U.S. News and World Report, 3 March 1980, p. 26.

This article describes the activities of the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. It also recounts the beliefs of this rebel organization and why they are confident of eventual victory despite their setbacks since 1977. The US ingredient in Somali foreign policy is shown to have great impact on the insurgents' morale, yet what they desire most is materiel support in the form of antitank and antiaircraft weapons.

Ghana

Bentsi-Enchill, Nii K. "Business as usual..." West Africa, 10 March 1980, pp. 436-37.

Observations on the current situation in Ghana. The author claims that the government is promoting a "siege mentality" by its suggestions of a possible "Ewe threat" to stability and its attacks on Jerry Rawlings, with whom the author is in sympathy.

"Ghana: Special Study." Africa, March 1980, pp. 41-62.

An in-depth survey of contemporary Ghana which contains these subheadings: "The 1979 Constitution: A virtually 'unchangeable' document," "The Parliament of the Third Republic," "Guaranteeing the people's rights," "The dilemma of chieftancy," "Locking horns with economic odds," "Agriculture in need of urgent attention," "Battling commodities shortages," "Energy sources in the eighties," and "Trade unionism: the case for a new approach."

Harrell-Bond, Barbara. "Women and the 1979 Ghana Revolution." American Universities Field Staff Report, No. 4, 1980.

The 4 June 1979 coup in Ghana carried out by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council unjustly directed its wrath against women. "Men seized upon the crisis as an opportunity to further their aim of eliminating women as economic competitors." The author claims that the destruction of the Makola Market Number One in Accra demonstrates the belief that market women are the sources of all of Ghana's economic ills.

"Independence and the multinationals." West Africa, 31 March 1980, pp. 571-73.

A discussion of the Volta Aluminum Company (VALCO) created in 1959 between the Government of Ghana and the Reynolds and Kaiser aluminum companies. The author contends that the terms of the agreement, especially the subjugation of Ghana's bauxite and hydroelectric industries to the smelter operators, continues to undermine the potential of the Ghanaian economy. The author concludes that, "Ghana's new dependence on VALCO payments thus deprives Ghana of any real lever to force further revisions of the Master Agreement from the American companies."

Kraus, Jon. "The Political Economy of Conflict in Ghana." Africa Report, March-April 1980, pp. 9-16.

The Ghanaian economy which the Limann government inherited in October 1979 was in chaos. Years of corruption, mismanagement and hoarding goods had eroded the once prosperous nation. The author claims that the PNP government of Limann was better off taking power from Flt. Lt. Rawlings and the AFRC than from the Supreme Military Council of Gen. Akuffo (although the AFRC encouraged class antagonism among workers and students). If Limann perpetuates the system of inequality and corruption, a new wave of anger will erupt in Ghana as it did in June 1979.

Lumsden, D. Paul. "Towards Ghana's Third Republic." Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1980, pp. 471-77.

Written before Flt. Lt. Rawlings' coup of June 1979, the article traces the political development leading up to civilian rule and outlines prospects for stability under a civilian regime.

"Which way Ghana?" Africa, March 1980, pp. 16-23.

An interview with President Limann in which he expresses optimism that Ghana's formidable problems can be solved. He admits, however, that the public will "have to work extremely hard...to cope with the pace" Limann will set for economic recovery.

#### Kenya

Gudel, Christopher. "Transition and Tradition in Kenya." Swiss Review of World Affairs, January 1979, pp. 7-11.

At the death of President Jomo Kenyatta it was clear that none of his aspiring successors enjoyed anything remotely like the prestige which had been lent to the "Wise Old Man" by his role as a symbolic figure of the African independence movement. It was inevitable that the charismatic leader would be followed by a politician whose initial position would be determined by the true power relationships among the country's top men. For the present, the experiment appears to have succeeded. The author examines some of the factors that have made the "Kenya Model" of succession work.

#### Liberia

"Behind the strike call in Liberia." West Africa, 4 April 1980, pp. 605-6.

After just 4 months of existence, the Progressive People's Party (PPP) has been banned in Liberia, the result of a general strike called on 7 March 1980 intended to topple the government of President William Tolbert. The Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), another group opposed to the government, claimed that the strike discredited "progressive work in Liberia" and viewed the PPP's actions as "infantile and ridiculous." However, MOJA also expressed concern over the mass arrests and alleged torture of the detainees.

"Liberia: The slippery slope." Africa Confidential, 9 April 1980, pp. 5-7.

Written prior to the 12 April 1980 coup, this article describes the 7 March 1980 disturbances and their aftermath. After years of working within the system and claiming to be a "loyal opposition," it is unknown why Baccus Matthews, leader of the Progressive Alliance of Liberia, called for a general strike to force President Tolbert's resignation. Tolbert is portrayed as an astute moderate who sought to widen political participation in the face of

stiff conservative opposition from his own party. Some differences between the PAL and the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), another antigovernment organization, are outlined. The article concludes that, "political expectations are rising and the government is unable to keep pace with them."

### Mali

Moisset, Jean J. "Les politiques d'integration des systems economiques et scolaires dans les pays africains: le cas du Mali." Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1980, pp. 461-69.

Since the 1960s, the role of education in economic development has been documented. In Africa, the educated tend to live in urban centers and the rural elements tend to be less educated. From 1960 until 1972, all Africa has realized a 207 percent increase in primary and secondary education and a 233 percent rise in higher education. In Mali, however, about 85 percent of the population is unable to read. Education ought to be an instrument for development and educational policies must be planned bearing in mind the exigencies of the socio-economic development of the country. The article ends with a series of charts detailing the evolution of education in Mali.

Perinbam, B. Marie. "Change and Continuity in Malian History." Department of History, University of Maryland, College Park. Paper prepared for the U.S. Department of State and presented at the briefing of Ambassador Anne Holloway, 19 November 1979, 6 pp.

Maliens see their history as a dialogue between events which rapidly produce new social phenomena, and those which alter the structure of society more slowly. The preconditions of change are invariably processed in the cultural crucible. The markers for continuity include: social, political, economic, and physical structures.

McCracken, John. Politics and Christianity in Malawi 1875-1940: the Impact of the Livingstonian Mission on the Northern Region. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977, 324 pp. (as reviewed in Africa, Vol. 49, No. 4, 1979, pp. 430-31.)

This is an excellent study of the development of Malawi describing how the missionaries' teachings helped the natives resist the white settlers but had disturbing effects on traditional ties within the society. This is an even-handed treatment of the Missionary Movement in Africa, refuting the view that it was solely detrimental to the development of Africa's modern political and social systems.

### Mauritania

"Mauritania: Future in Fish, Minerals." Africa News, 3 March 1980, pp. 5-7.

After disengaging from the conflict in the Western Sahara, Mauritania is now free to devote itself to economic development. In the wake of the drought in

the Sahel and as a result of the war, Mauritania has experienced increased urbanization (10 percent of the population now lives in the capital). Since weather patterns have shifted for the worse, the economic emphasis will not be on agriculture, but rather on fishing and minerals. To complement foreign investment, the government will institute austerity measures which will even hit the armed forces.

#### Morocco

"Social unrest stirs as Hassan looks to the Saudis." Middle East Newsletter, 25 February-10 March 1980, pp. 4-5.

King Hassan of Morocco has been visibly alarmed by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and Libya's attack on Tunisia--so much so that he has consulted the Saudis. His real problems lie at home, where the cost of the war in the Sahara and commodity subsidies are burdening an already unhealthy economy, leading to increased social unrest.

#### Nigeria

Iroh, Eddie. "The economics of a new capital." Africa, March 1980, pp. 27-29.

One of the differences between Shehu Shagari and his political opponent, Obafemi Awolowo, is that Shagari is determined that the new capital shall be built in Abuja in the center of Nigeria. To do so, Shagari has set up a Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) and given it cabinet rank. Over a 20-year period, the cost of the project is estimated at 9.271 billion naira (one naira=\$.54). The FCDA, however, is having trouble attracting capital to the high-risk venture.

Iroh, Eddie. "Rapid fire in the states." Africa, January 1980, pp. 40-41.

An examination of the diverse directions taken by Nigerian State Governments since October 1979. A common goal to many states has been in the field of education; however, other states have attacked a wide range of problems. Niger has set up its own electric power company; Lagos has set about restoring physical order to the decaying capital; Kano has repealed two types of taxes; all four UPN-controlled states have initiated plans to establish lotteries and pools-betting schemes. One major problem exists in Kaduna State where the NPN-controlled legislature is locked in a battle with PRP Governor Musa.

Iroh, Eddie. "Shagari's first 100 days." Africa, February 1980, pp. 20, 25.

Marking his first 100 days in office, President Shagari held a press conference in which he accused the former military government of leaving a huge deficit which his administration has done much to reverse. In a separate item, some Nigerians are clamoring to form new states to be carved out of the existing 19. One recommendation would excise Calabar-Ogoja State from Cross Rivers State; a second demand would create Anioma-Delta State out of Bendel State; Wawa State

would be separated from Anambra State; and finally, Katsina State would be cut from Kaduna State. "A new state could be effected on the approval of a simple majority of the State assemblies, in addition to the approval by two-thirds majority of the National Assembly."

Panter-Brick, Keith, ed. Soldiers and Oil. London: Frank Cass, 1978. 375 pp. [as reviewed in Africa, Vol. 49, No. 4, 1979, p. 438.]

"This book provides a useful summary of various facets of political change in Nigeria over the 1966-76 period. It has less to say about economic change and almost nothing on social change, though several authors mention in passing the importance of increasing social differentiation and changing social relationships as a result of the political and economic developments on which the discussion is focused."

"The gradual ending of constraints." West Africa, 31 March 1980, pp. 557-62.

The full text of the budget statement of President Shagari to a joint session of the Senate and the Federal Assembly. Some points of interest: since 1975, public spending has exceeded revenues, resulting in budget deficits necessitating increased borrowing; and the police force allocation is increased by 197 million naira, with 80 million naira going toward barracks construction.

#### Senegal

"Chagrin in Senegal." West Africa, 10 March 1980, pp. 431-33.

The first of two parts of a critical examination of Senegal's economic problems. Singled out is the mismanagement of the Senegal River Development Organization (OMVS) whose Arab benefactors are withdrawing support until certain conditions are met. The government's austerity program, dictated in part by the IMF and World Bank, is discussed along with the drastic decline in groundnut production.

Dumont, Fernand. "Le 'Mouridisme' senegalais." Revue Francaise d'etudes politiques africaines, November-January 1980, pp. 143-55.

Mouridism in Senegal springs from the same philosophical roots as the Tijane and Qadari movements, and is thus "classical" Sufism. The pious and ascetic founder of Mouridism, Ahmadou Bamba (the "Zealous Servant of the Messenger of God"), preached a "holy war of the soul" and was a cohesive element in the face of colonial penetration and brutal Islamization. In Senegal, "Mourid" refers only to Bamba's followers and, philosophically, has no political overtones.

#### Seychelles

Kulik, S. "Winds of Change Over the Seychelles." International Affairs, Vol. 2, 1980, pp. 115-19.

Kulik supports the present government of France Albert Rene and the Seychelles People's Progressive Front by noting the recent "neocolonialist" history of

the nation. Kulik singles out the damage that the tourist industry caused (inflation increased, arable land decreased). Defending Rene's coup, Kulik shows how the national development plan and the parastatals are attempting to raise the blacks' standard of living. Briefly Kulik mentions that almost all citizens between 16 and 60 belong to the "peoples security corps," that Victoria is no longer a trans-shipping point for goods going to South Africa, and that the nation's flag "is no longer 'loaned' to foreign vessels."

#### Somalia

Yared, Marc. "The Fears of the 'Old One'." Jeune Afrique, 6 February 1980, pp. 38-39.

In an exclusive interview with President Siyad Barre of Somalia, the author discusses Somalian Socialism, the Ogaden, and irredentism affecting northern Kenya and Djibouti. The President also describes his latest foreign policy--a warming up to the West, with the United States being offered the use of bases--as an attempt to restore equilibrium to the Horn.

#### South Africa

Jowell, Kate. "Labour Policy in South Africa." The South African Journal of Economics, December 1979, pp. 369-96.

A review of recent South African Government pronouncements of intentions to change existing labor policies. The author contrasts these statements with existing legislation, proposals included in the Wiehahn and Rickert reports and common practice. She concludes that even the government's proposed changes fall far short of the goals of most black unions but at least indicate a willingness to consider change.

Koornhof, P.G.J. "Creating Conditions for Peaceful Co-Existence in South Africa." Politikon, December 1979, pp. 93-102.

Based on a speech given by the South African Minister of Cooperation and Development in Washington, D.C. on 15 June 1979. He outlines South African plans for change which include equality for all people and full citizenship rights through the establishment of separate black nations.

Myers, Desaix and David M. Liff. "The Press of Business." Foreign Policy, Spring 1980, pp. 143-63.

Pressure on US businesses to disinvest themselves of their South African holdings is mounting. Critics of the South African Government argue that business is shoring up the apartheid regime and should, at least, be used as a progressive force for change. Several factors militate against such action, however, including the reluctance of most companies to accept a political role and the current boom in South Africa's economy due to increased gold revenues. Nonetheless, the US Government should encourage companies to promote better labor relations in South Africa to spur change.



Ratcliffe, Anne. "Industrial Development Policy: Changes During the 1970s." The South African Journal of Economics, December 1979, pp. 397-421.

During the last 10 years there has been a marked change in South Africa's approach toward industrial development. It has been characterized by increased openness in the economy, pursuit of eclectic goals, manipulation of market processes, and increased stimulation of private initiative. The result has been the increased involvement of South Africa in the world economy and some resulting benefits and liabilities.

Robinson, Randall. "Investments in Tokenism." Foreign Policy, Spring 1980, pp. 164-67.

Author reviews Rotberg and Myers-Liff articles in the same volume. He finds both pieces flawed by two basic presumptions: 1) South Africans are willing to make major changes in their political system and 2) US businesses are willing to promote better labor conditions for blacks in South Africa. Robinson believes that US businesses currently reap larger profits in South Africa due to guaranteed cheap black labor and are unlikely to make any concessions which lessen their profit margin. He concludes that the US Government must recognize that black aspirations in South Africa are paramount to any solution there and that maximum pressure must be put on that government to create meaningful change.

Rotberg, Robert T. "How Deep A Change?" Foreign Policy, Spring 1980, pp. 126-42.

South African Prime Minister Botha's recent pronouncements of intended change in the apartheid structure fall far short of black aspirations. Meaningful change which would satisfy blacks is unacceptable to ruling whites. Professor Rotberg concludes that it is up to the West "to play as South Africa's external conscience," pushing the country toward meaningful change without using such drastic weapons as economic boycotts or embargoes.

Thomas, Wolfgang. "South Africa and Black Africa: The Future of Economic Interaction." Politikon, December 1979, pp. 103-18.

The author proposes that South Africa extend its economic relations northwards to Kenya and Zaire. To facilitate such relations, the government should continue to liberalize race relations and strive to better explain its policies toward the homelands to defuse black African criticism of the country's domestic policies.

#### Sudan

Born, Wolf-Ruthard. "Sudan: Zehn Jahre Dschaafar Mohamed Nimeiri." Europaeische Wehrkunde, No. 3, March 1980, pp. 137-47.

Subdivisions of the article include: "The Revolution of 25 May 1969--Numayri takes power," "Decentralization and National Unity," "Latest International Political Developments," "Economic Situation," and "Sudan's Foreign Policy."

Concolato, Jean-Claude. "Le Sud-Sudan: genese du conflict 1955-1972." Revue francaise d'etudes politiques africaines, No. 167-69, November-December 1979-January 1980, pp. 115-42.

Concolato gives us a "history of the bloody conflict that tore apart southern Sudan." Primary emphasis is placed on the study of the "political, ethnic and religious problems in southern Sudan." Subunits of the article include: "The politics of the Khedives," "The Mahdist interlude (1881-1898)," "The South and slavery," "Racial prejudice in daily life," "Racism in action," "Slavery, racism, and labor relations," "Colonialism and separatism," "The origins of southern Sudan's administration," "British administration," "British politics," "Colonial politics and the problem of southern Sudan," and "Independence and the revolt."

Hancock, Graham. "Sudan says goodbye to the breadbasket." Middle East Economic Digest, 11 January 1980, pp. 3-5.

"The government is attempting to switch Sudan's debt profile to medium term and long term, and to reduce overall indebtedness. It is carrying out ambitious agricultural changes which will firmly emphasize cotton exports at the expense of wheat. Any prospect of the country becoming the breadbasket of the Arab world is even more remote."

Kaikati, Jack G. "The Economy of Sudan: A Potential Breadbasket of the Arab World?" International Journal of Middle East Studies, February 1980, pp. 99-123.

Subdivisions of the article include: "General Background (Area and Population, Political and Administrative System, Climatic Conditions)," "Overall Economic Activity," "The Agricultural Sector," "Major Agricultural Schemes," "Principal Crops and Livestock," "The Industrial Sector," "Measures to Encourage Investments," "The Foreign Trade Sector," "The Banking System," "Deficit Financing and External Debt," "Transportation and Communication," and "Conclusion."

The article concludes: "The Sudan, the hope of a hungry Arab world...has been identified by the United Nations as one of the three countries (the others are Canada and Australia) that could help counteract the world food shortage....Huge sums from Arab states, principally Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, are pouring in to develop the land....The plan envisions more than \$6-billion over the next ten years for 100 projects." An excellent article.

"Numeiry's Subtle Diplomatic Game." Africa News, 3 March 1980, pp. 8-9.

This brief article discusses Sudanese President Numayri's "characteristic talent for juggling contradictory internal and international pressures, a skill which has enabled him to stay in power for eleven years...." Attention is paid to changing Sudanese-Egyptian affairs as well as recent developments in Sudanese-Libyan-Ethiopian relations.

Warburg, Gabriel R. "Islam in Sudanese Politics." The Jerusalem Quarterly, No. 13, Fall 1979, pp. 47-61.

This article traces Islam's role in Sudanese politics since World War I. Particular emphasis is placed in various Islamic factions since 1970. Although the article primarily focuses on domestic politics, special attention is paid to the impact of Islam on Egyptian-Saudi-Sudanese relations.

#### Tanzania

Burrows, Noreen. "Tanzania's Intervention in Uganda: Some Legal Aspects." The World Today, July 1979, pp. 306-10.

Tanzania's recent intervention in Uganda provides the opportunity for international lawyers to review the rules which govern the use of force in international relations. International law after 1945 has been dominated by the view that any resort to violence, with the two exceptions of the right to self-defense and the right to collective action authorized by the UN, is not permissible. The author outlines the dilemma which the Tanzanian action poses to international law as it grapples with the concept of the use of force.

#### Tunisia

"Bourguiba loses his chosen heir." Middle East Newsletter, 10-23 March 1980, p. 9.

Premier Nouria's stroke on 26 January has complicated the succession issue in Tunisia. Even if he recovers, the man who was the lynch-pin of Bourguiba's political policy and who managed the economy is not likely to reenter politics. The healthiest candidate to succeed Nouria as Premier (and perhaps as Bourguiba's designated successor) is 55-year old Mohammed Sayah. The Gafsa incident has united the country and Tunisians are now more concerned about domestic rather than foreign political problems.

#### Zaire

"Zaire: Mobutu struggles on." Africa Confidential, 12 March 1980, pp. 5-6.

"President Mobutu is currently on a world tour--including Belgium, China and Japan--as part of his continuing attempt to present himself with enhanced respectability before world opinion." But internal and international political and economic problems continue to threaten the Mobutu regime.

#### Zimbabwe

Barber, James. "Zimbabwe's Southern African Setting." Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, March 1980, pp. 69-84.

Disappointing, misnamed overview of southern African interdependence and how the Front-Line States wish to lessen their dependence on South Africa. Barber

states the obvious: that economic imbalance among the states spawns political consequences. Whereas the black states hope for less dependence (Barber claims the 1979 Arusha meeting's pricetag for reorganization was 700 billion pounds), there is little doubt that South Africa will enjoy some political latitude with its black neighbors because of its economic strength.

Day, John. "The Insignificance of Tribe in the African Politics of Zimbabwe Rhodesia." Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, March 1980, pp. 85-109.

Claiming that "it is paradoxical to seek tribal divisions within the nationalist movement," Day scrutinizes the history of Zimbabwean nationalist movements and concludes that "tribalism" has contributed less toward group organization than has regionalism or even personality. Day remains uncertain about the relative importance of ethnic subdivisions [the Shona has experienced difficulties between its Zezeru, Manyika, Korekore, Ndau, Kalanga and, especially, its Karanga factions].

Kay, George. "Towards a Population Policy for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia." African Affairs, January 1980, pp. 95-114.

Kay notes three problems: overuse of rural land, a soaring population (at 3.6%, the country will double in 20 years), and white control of the economy's commanding heights. Kay proposes a rapid urbanization policy, e.g., low cost housing which alleviates land pressure and raises incomes (thus, presumably lowering the birth rate). Both industry and agriculture should emphasize labor-intensive production. Kay projects a "substantial and persistent need" for skilled whites who will provide the interim trigger for development.

Lewis, Roy. "From Zimbabwe-Rhodesia to Zimbabwe." The Round Table, January 1980, pp. 6-9.

Short, concise description of the general issues and their resolution at the Lancaster House Conference.

Patel, H.H. "Asian Political Activity in Rhodesia." Rhodesian History, Vol. 9, 1978, pp. 63-82.

Asians in Rhodesia number only 10,000 out of approximately 7 million Rhodesians and have sought limited redress by peaceful means (litigation, legal demonstrations and transracial alliances which have been of limited duration since neither blacks nor whites fully accepted the Asian as an ally or friend). Patel does not examine the Asian's future in a black-ruled Zimbabwe.

Riddell, Roger. "Zimbabwe's Land Problem: The Central Issue." Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, March 1980, pp. 1-13.

Riddell notes the tremendously unequal access to arable land, the necessity to the blacks of redistribution, as well as the uneconomic use of land by white farmers since U.D.I. Then, focusing on future economic and political

importance of land redistribution, Riddell argues for a "substantial restructuring of the land accompanied by a shift away from an externally-oriented growth path." He dismisses the proposed Constitution's land suggestions as inadequate. Apparently believing that about 75% of white land should be redistributed, Riddell suggests a pricetag of \$1 billion.

Wilkinson, A.R. "The Impact of the War." Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, March 1980, pp. 110-23.

Well-written yet familiar catalogue of the mounting internal and external pressures against the Rhodesian Front Government. Explains how these pressures, coupled with RF intransigence, have crippled the country and now pose numerous problems for the new government: returning guerrillas raising already high unemployment levels; agricultural and educational services needing massive and rapid financial infusions; the large number (at least 150,000) who have military experience, access to weapons, and allegiance to various political leaders; and the possible growth in ethnic discord evidenced by the creation of several ethnically-based parties.

Wilkinson, who is knowledgeable about the Rhodesian Army, maintains that the Selous Scouts have "arms caches deposited throughout the country."

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

(Received in May 1980)

Africa General

Arens, W. A Century of Change in Eastern Africa. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1976, 309 pp. [as reviewed in the Journal of African History, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1979, p. 317]

A compilation of 17 essays dealing with tribalism (especially the patterns of change before and after colonialism) and other ethnic linkages that affect the political structure of countries like Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia.

Avery, William P. and Louis A. Picard. "Pull Factors in the Transfer of Conventional Armaments to Africa." Journal of Political and Military Sociology, Spring 1980, pp. 55-70.

Empirical examination of "pull factors" which influence African countries' needs for arms. The author finds that three phenomena are significant: African economic resources, North African proximity to the Middle East conflict, and political stability inside African nations.

"Battling For The Ocean's Resources." Africa, May 1980, pp. 67-69.

Questions whether the Law of the Sea treaty can be endorsed in July, considering the differences between the developed nations and the LDCs. Apart from fairly technical matters (drawing of maritime boundaries between adjacent states or those separated by narrow bodies of water), major problems remain concerning the right of access to deep sea resources. The article notes that unlimited access could create an oversupply of such minerals as copper and manganese and "could well ruin the fragile economies of . . . Botswana, Zaire, and Zambia."

Carter, Gwendolen and Patrick O'Meara. Southern Africa. The Continuing Crisis. Indiana University Press, 1979, 404 pp.

An update of Southern Africa In Crisis. Separate country studies, including BLS, by such writers as Tony Hodges (Mozambique) and John Marcum (Angola). Overview articles include "International Rivalries in the Southern African Conflict" by Colin Legum and "Economic Patterns in the New Southern African Balance" by Kenneth Grundy. Generally, very good political analysis but little military material.

Henige, David. Works in African History: An Index to Reviews. Part I, 1960-74; Part II, 1974-78. Waltham, Mass.: African Studies Association, 1976, 1978, 54 pp., 58 pp. [as reviewed in The Journal of African History, Vol. 20, No. 4, 1979]

"A useful list of the most notable works on African history to be published since 1960." Approximately 1,000 books are cited in this compendium.

Legum, Colin, William Zartman, Steven Langdon, Lynn K. Mytelka. Africa In The 1980s: A Continent In Crisis. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979, 232 pp. [as reviewed in World Affairs, Winter, 1980]

Issued by 1980s Project of Council on Foreign Relations. Cautious projections, with all four authors sharing "visions of a rather bleak future ahead for Africans . . ." Legum's offering examines "communal conflict and the increase in foreign intervention as the dominant factors determining development through the 1980's."

Miller, Norman N. East Africa's New Decade of Doubt, Part 1: Kenya and Tanzania. American University Field Staff Report, No. 9, 1980, 17 pp.

In this part of this regional review the author focuses on Kenya and Tanzania. The former is a free-wheeling, free-enterprise, and anti-Marxist economy that just completed a smooth political transition; the latter is austere and socialist, under Nyerere's respected leadership. Both countries have potential to celebrate but more immediate cause for concern, especially about food.

"The OAU's Economic Summit." West Africa, 5 May 1980, pp. 773-74.

Details of the First Economic Summit of the OAU. President Senghor of Senegal was appointed chairman in the absence of the late President Tolbert. A running theme throughout the conference was that Africans should solve African problems. President Nyerere of Tanzania listed five priorities: (1) agricultural production and food storage, (2) development and coordination of transportation and communications, (3) coordination of industrial strategies and the exchange of technical information, (4) problems of energy conservation and expansion, and (5) inter-African trade.

Ogunbadejo, Oye. "Conservatism and Radicalism in Inter-African Relations: The Case of Nigeria and Tanzania." The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1979, pp. 23-33.

Examines the relations between Nigeria ("conservative") and Tanzania ("radical") to determine if these labels have affected their interstate relations and what foreign policy objectives they have in common. The discussion centers around Tanzanian recognition of Biafra during the 1967-70 Nigerian civil war and Nigeria's reaction since then.

Ray, Ellen, William Schaap, Karl Van Meter, and Louis Wolf. Dirty Work 2. The CIA In Africa. New Jersey: Lyle Stuart, 1979, 523 pp.

Anthology of over thirty articles alleging western covert operations in sub-Saharan Africa. Topics and authors include British Intelligence (Jonathan Bloch and Russell Southwood), CIA & African Trade Unions (Barry Cohen), Denard's operation in Rhodesia (unnamed French mercenary), SIGINT in Namibia (Chris Walker), the CIA and BOSS (Stephen Talbot), and Cabinda (Karl Van Meter). A lengthy appendix lists presumed CIA agents and their personal backgrounds.

Saul, John L. The State and Revolution in Eastern Africa. London, Ibadan, and Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979, 454 pp. [as reviewed in African Affairs, January 1980, p. 143]

This is a collection of reprinted papers on Tanzania, Mozambique, Kenya, and Uganda by a neo-Marxist author.

Sklar, Richard L. "The Nature of Class Domination in Africa." The Journal of Modern African Studies, No. 4, 1979, pp. 531-52.

Taking issue with some Marxist interpretations of class formation in Africa, Dr. Sklar argues that dominant class composition has less to do with controlling the means of production than with control of social and political organizations. Marxist interpretations have forced the view that class domination in Africa is practiced by those "proxies" of foreign capitalism. Sklar argues that this viewpoint has led to authoritarian elimination of those "proxies" and to real class domination by agents of the government. Without liberty, he concludes, there will always be dominant classes, whatever their ideological persuasion.

"Union of the Southern Nine." Africa, May 1980, pp. 43, 45.

Summarizes recent Lusaka Economic Summit where all participants decided to stimulate interstate trade with the economic isolation of South Africa as the final goal. The countries agreed to establish a Southern African Transport and Communications Commission to be based in Mozambique.

#### Algeria

"Algerian backing for Basque terrorists." Foreign Report, 26 March 1980, pp. 4-5.

The Basque separatist terrorist organization, ETA ("Basque Fatherland and Freedom"), has been running training camps for its partisans with the full knowledge and support of the Algerian Government. This was made public when Spanish police captured Inaki Aramallo Egurola, a Basque leader. Since his capture last June, he has been forthcoming in providing information.

Joffe, George. "Algeria: Cultural Diversity and National Unity." Middle East International, 9 May 1980, pp. 12-13.

The status of Berber languages within Algerian culture has been a thorny one for two decades. Traditionally, it has been viewed as an expression of separatism and as such rigorously opposed by Algiers. Recently, the question has been subsumed under the question of "popular culture" or democratization of the means of expression and information. This has called into question the regime's linguistic and cultural policies. The drive for faster Arabization has sparked Berber cries for recognition of their linguistic rights.



### Chad

Amady, Nathe. "La Condition des Etrangers au Tchad." Revue Juridique et Politique Independance et Cooperation, March 1980, pp. 237-48.

Legal conditions attached to entering, staying, and existing in Chad.

Howe, John. "Civil war erupts again." Africa, May 1980, pp. 45-47.

The fighting is viewed as a trial of strength between contenders for leadership in Chad.

Kinder, Ahmat. "Les Mouvements de Population en Republique du Tchad." Revue Juridique et Politique Independance et Cooperation, March 1980, pp. 218-36.

Movement within and from Chad to neighboring countries. The article is much broader than the title indicates and covers geography, ethnicity, economy, and society of Chad.

Rondos, Alex. "What hope for Chad?" West Africa, 5 May 1980, pp. 775-77.

Rondos suggests that the fighting will continue in spite of some pacific intentions by African countries and that the UN should become involved.

Soudan, Francois. "Les Tchadiens de Kaddafi." Jeune Afrique, 23 April 1980, p. 26.

The article concentrates on Acyl Ahmat and his forces fighting in N'Djamena.

Soudan, Francois. "Les vraies raisons du depart des Francais." Jeune Afrique, 7 May 1980, p. 32.

Brief overview of French and Libyans in Chad.

"Tacaud" -- E.M.M.I.R. Mission humanitaire au Tchad." Terre, Air et Mer (TAM), 8 May 1980, p. 2.

A fairly detailed description of the French "Tacaud" detachment presently in Chad. The "Tacaud" unit is comprised of about 1,100 men. The unit is absolutely "neutral" in the current civil war. It is responsible for the safety of the local European population and for the security of the airport and electric plants, etc. The Rapid Military Medical Intervention Element (E.M.M.I.R.), which cares for refugees and the wounded, is located on the banks of the Chari River in Cameroon -- across the river from N'Djamena.

### Djibouti

Doepjner, Andreas. "Djibouti: Pinhead on the Horn of Africa." Swiss Review of World Affairs, August 1978, pp. 13-15.

An overview of Djibouti's first year of independence from France.

## Ethiopia

Brown, Clifton F. Ethiopian Perspectives: A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Ethiopia. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978, 264 pp. [as reviewed in the Journal of African History, Vol. 20, No. 4 (1979), p. 596]

A compilation of 3,000 entries arranged in a useful manner in a number of languages.

"Ethiopia: Eritrean Negotiations." Africa Confidential, 9 April 1980, pp. 1-3.

Because of the warming in relations between Ethiopia and Sudan there is a good prospect for talks between the Eritrean rebels and the central government. The author evaluates the current stands of each group and the chances for success of any negotiations.

Norberg, Viveca Halldin. Swedes in Haile Selassie's Ethiopia, 1924-52. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1977, 317 pp. [as reviewed in the Journal of African History, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1979, p. 316]

This book explains how Selassie, in an effort to elude too tight an embrace with his British allies, sought developmental aid from Sweden. It is an interesting study of early developmental assistance provided by a European nation to an African country struggling to modernize.

## Ghana

"Ghana: Limann's sorrows." Africa Confidential, 23 April 1980, pp. 6-7.

The leadership of President Limann's party, the PNP, is quarreling; there is a growing belief that the Limann government lacks direction; coup rumors are rampant; some military personnel have been arrested and charged with conspiracy. The ruling party seems committed to the notion that smuggling is a cause, not a result, of the economic malaise. In an attempt to contain unrest, the government has proposed a system to control the flow of information through the establishment of a "press commission" which would act as a buffer between the government and the press.

Hansen, Emmanuel, and Paul Collins. "The Army, the State, and the 'Rawlings Revolution' in Ghana." African Affairs, January 1980, pp. 3-23.

The authors prefer to focus attention not on why the military intervenes in politics in Africa, but on what it does once it seizes power. They hypothesize that the military can only successfully disengage from political power under the following conditions: the personnel and ideologies of the previous regime must not be reinstated; the incoming administration must not constitute a constraint on the interests of the leadership of the army; there must be assurance that the coup leaders will not be endangered by the incoming administration; the army must not be prosecuted after turning over authority. This disengagement construct is then measured against the Acheampong, Akuffo and Rawlings regimes.

Hutchful, Eboe. "A Tale of Two Regimes: Imperialism, the Military and Class in Ghana." Review of African Political Economy, January-April 1980, pp. 36-55.

Written before the June 1979 coup, this article is a Marxist interpretation of the political and economic development of Ghana since independence. The author blames most of Ghana's financial ills on the two military regimes but fails to assign sufficient blame to Nkrumah's disastrous policy of industrialization. He argues further that the military's basically compromising relationship with the West has produced recurrent crises which stem from "differing attempts to mediate between foreign and domestic capital."

"Imperialism and the Volta Dam." West Africa (four parts), 24 March 1980, pp. 518-23; 31 March 1980, pp. 571-73; 7 April 1980, pp. 611-14; 14 April 1980, pp. 655-60.

A lengthy analysis of the history of the relationship between VALCO--an international consortium of aluminum companies--and the Ghana Government. Neither the production of aluminum nor the construction of the Volta Dam at Akosombo has proved to be the boost to development Ghana had hoped for and much of the blame is laid on the aluminum companies.

#### Ivory Coast

Rondos, Alex. "Farmers and Foreigners." West Africa, 28 April 1980, pp. 735-37.

The mainstays of the Ivorian economy are the small farmer and the foreigner. Officials are worried about the health of the economy for two reasons: the vulnerability of coffee and cocoa prices on the international market, and the increasing role of revenue derived from these products. Thus, the most significant economic action Ivory Coast has taken lately has been its withdrawal from the international cocoa market followed by the joint action taken with other producers to break up the international cocoa agreement.

Rondos, Alex. "The team spirit in Ivory Coast." West Africa, 21 April 1980, pp. 694-97.

The party congress of the PDCI, held every 5 years, occurs in 1980 and attention will focus on a successor to President Houphouet-Boigny. The author sees a growing economic gap between the most advantaged and the least; the young people are also feeling resentment toward the "old guard." He concludes that Houphouet-Boigny "has managed to sustain a system the symptoms of which when unchecked in countries very close to Ivory Coast have caused indignation, resentment and violence."

#### Kenya

Leonard, David K. Reaching and Peasant Farmer: Organization Theory and Practice in Kenya. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977, 297 pp. [as reviewed in The American Political Science Review, March 1979, pp. 294-95]

This book is an analysis of the extension services provided by the Kenyan Ministry of Agriculture to western portions of the country. Leonard is

interested in the achievement of economic development and his analysis focuses on administrative processes used for that objective. The author is careful to specify which features are affected by the ethnic politics, colonial legacy, and economic opportunities unique to Kenya.

#### Liberia

"Liberia: Who Rules?" Africa Confidential, 23 April 1980, pp. 3-4.

This brief summary of the 12 April 1980 coup in Liberia suggests that Sgt Doe was a secret member of the People's Progressive Party (PPP) and, since most of the PPP hierarchy was arrested as a result of the 7 March 1980 strike call, Doe felt compelled to carry out the coup himself. Also listed are the personalities appointed to the new cabinet.

"Master Sergeant Doe's Cabinet." West Africa, 21 April 1980, pp. 689-99.

A brief summary of the 12 April 1980 coup in Liberia with a list of personnel serving in the People's Redemption Council and the new cabinet.

Mayson, Dew Tuan-Wleh, and Amos Sawyer. "Labor in Liberia." Review of African Political Economy, January-April 1980, pp. 3-15.

Written prior to the April 1980 coup in Liberia, this article is basically a Marxist analysis of the Liberian economy with special emphasis on the labor movement. The authors trace the growth of the working class and its increasing militancy since 1961, the legislative response to this in the form of antistrike laws, and collusion between trade union leaders and the police. Both of the authors were central figures in the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), some of whose members are now serving in the new government in Liberia.

#### Malawi

Aradoun, Fassil. University of Malawi Publications: A Guide. Washington, D.C. Library of Congress, 1979, 41 pp.

A bibliography of this university's publications divided into sections dealing with agriculture, communications and transportation, economics, history, law, politics and government, and various other social sciences.

#### Mali

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Qui veut renverser Moussa Traore?" Jeune Afrique, 7 May 1980, pp. 36-37.

Two powers, France and the Soviet Union, are suspected of wanting to act in Mali. The former has refused to grant credits and the latter wishes to sell arms. At the same time, neighboring Guinea has refused to transship military equipment. Facing a threat from students earlier this year, Traore has recently calmed things and his recent statements have reflected traditional Malian pride. Nonetheless, rumors of an impending coup have circulated in several quarters.

### Mozambique

Matatu, Godwin. "Machel's New War." Africa, May 1980, pp. 14-17, 20.

Review of offensive started early this year by President Machel against "inefficiency, negligence, and incompetence" in the state and parastatal areas. Matatu argues, somewhat unconvincingly, that Machel is not moving away from socialism despite his pronouncement that the government will encourage and assist small private businesses.

An Office of Control and Discipline has been established within each ministry. The office will deal with all reported incompetence. Various criminals being resettled in Maputo's Green Belt will be guarded for 6 years until their agricultural work equals their past crimes. A supplemental article on page 17, "The Price of Solidarity," is a short, yet fairly good detailing of damage within Mozambique caused by the war.

### Namibia

Redekop, Clarence G. "The limits of diplomacy: the case of Namibia." International Journal, Winter 1979-80, pp. 70-90.

Clear presentation of the historical background to the present dispute over Namibian independence. The author analyzes the failure of recent negotiations and concludes that it has been impossible to force both sides on to common ground due to the ineffectiveness of western threats against the South African Government. He believes that South Africa will continue to resist effecting a meaningful compromise because with the resolution of the Namibian conflict, world attention will then be fully focused on South Africa's own domestic situation. Rather, South Africa will continue to negotiate over Namibia in "bad faith" in order to keep its options open, gather intelligence on SWAPO and Front Line State intentions and for obvious propaganda value.

### Nigeria

Hoogvelt, Ankie. "Indigenization and Foreign Capital: Industrialization in Nigeria." Review of African Political Economy, January-April 1980, pp. 56-67.

A survey of Kano-based industries affected by the indigenization program which reflects a high degree of Nigerian participation in business. The author concludes, however, that the program has succeeded mainly in "harmonizing" foreign interests with the financial interests of a small class of indigenous entrepreneurs. Indigenization has not had a significant effect on the amount of labor employed in industry.

Iroh, Eddie. "Nigerians test their new constitution." Africa, April 1980, pp. 50-51.

There is renewed confidence in the Nigerian judicial system and the author presents a few examples of how well the judiciary is working within the structure of the new constitution. The most prominent of the cases is the

deportation of Shugaba Abdulrahman Darman, the majority leader of the Borno State House of Assembly.

Marenin, Otwin. "National Service and National Consciousness in Nigeria." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 17, No. 4 (1979), pp. 629-54.

An analysis of the Nigerian National Youth Service Corps which was established in 1973. NYSC legislation requires that university graduates who meet certain criteria must contribute one year of service to the nation. By measuring perceptions of former NYSC participants, the author concludes that the program has been a success and its existence is assured into the 1980s.

Rupley, Lawrence A. "Nigeria's nine-month budget." West Africa, 12 May 1980, pp. 821-22.

A noteworthy feature of the 1980 budget is that, for the first time, total Federal expenditure for education exceeds that for defense. This is due to a significant increase in government involvement in education since the early 1970s. The article includes a table showing comparisons of revenues and expenditures since 1973-74.

#### Senegal

"Senegal: Future headaches." Africa Confidential, 7 May 1980, pp. 3-5.

President Senghor will have to enact reforms to reverse the slide of Senegal's economy and to calm the nation's worsening political atmosphere. One proposal is to establish a "government of national unity," drawing opposition and independent elements into the political process. Senghor will also have to deal with rebellious farmers and Islamic religious leaders.

#### Sierra Leone

"Gloomy prospects for Sierra Leone." West Africa, 17 March 1980, pp. 469-70.

A report on the speech of the Governor of the Bank of Sierra Leone in which he details the economy's poor performance during 1979. Government revenues were 43 percent below expenditures and foreign reserves declined sharply. However, an IMF stabilization program has been agreed on and much of Sierra Leone's external debt has been rescheduled.

#### Somalia

Laitin, David D. Politics, Language, and Thought: The Somali Experience. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977, 268 pp. [as reviewed in The American Political Science Review, March 1979, pp. 292-93]

Using interviews with Somali-speaking people living in northern Kenya, the author examines the political ramifications of the Somali and English languages; that is, to investigate whether meaning and behavior in the sphere of politics varies by linguistic context.

### South Africa

de Clercq, Francine. "Apartheid and the Organised Labour Movement." Review of African Political Economy, January-April 1979, pp. 69-77.

As a part of the South African Government's attempts to deal with the mounting racial crisis in that country some changes in labor relations are being made. The author summarizes the history of the labor movement inside South Africa, with strong emphasis on the role of the Communist Party, and concludes that recent proposed changes will serve only to break the organized labor movement and, ultimately, the working class.

### Sudan

"Sudan: Nimeiri the operator." Africa Confidential, 26 March 1980, pp. 5-7.

"President Jaffar Nimeiri will contest the April (1980) elections for the national and regional assemblies stronger politically than for many years . . . . But the economy is as perilous as ever, and Nimeiri . . . is building up political credit for himself . . . in order to tide him through what could be financially a very tricky summer. If he survives that traditional testing time for Sudanese politicians--when the haboobs engulf Khartoum with dust, when Ramadan is on and tempers are short--then Sudanese expatriates may begin to take advantage of the [September 1979 financial] reforms and bring back their funds at today's more attractive currency rates."

"Sudan: The Southern labyrinth." Africa Confidential, 23 April 1980, pp. 4-6.

"In February 1978 Southern Sudan saw a complete shake-up in its government and administration." "Out went the Dinka-dominated team headed by the astute and careful lawyer Abel Alier; in came the firey soldier General Joseph Lagu." Recently, General Lagu's political base has been seriously shaken. What happens in the April 1980 elections will depend "on the mood of the South. If the people of the region are motivated enough against 'Northern interference', they could vote back Lagu's team. Otherwise an Alier-sponsored government is likely."

Other determinants in the elections are: the complete lack of economic development in the South over the past years; the arrival of 100,000 Ugandan refugees in the South; most of the school system in the South has been on strike; and the traditional anti-Dinka tribal feelings among the Southern tribes.

### Tanzania

Nurse-Bray, P.F. "Tanzania: The Development Debate." African Affairs, January 1980, pp. 55-78.

The author attempts to see behind the apparent contradictions which arise in Tanzania's development which makes it appear to be a country heading toward socialism or mired in developed capitalism.

### Uganda

"The Republic of Uganda." International Affairs (Moscow), March 1980, pp. 134-36.

Article provides Soviet view of Ugandan politics and prospects for economic recovery.

### Upper Volta

"Upper Volta: how democracy is linked to development." West Africa, 14 April 1980, pp. 650-52.

The Ivory Coast's position of prominence in the economy of Upper Volta allows it to exert considerable influence in the internal affairs of Upper Volta. M. Philippe Yace, President of the Ivorian National Assembly, recently visited Upper Volta to help reconcile feuding political parties. His message was that Upper Volta should put its political affairs in order or suffer decreasing economic support from the Ivory Coast, and in this assertion he had the backing of Ivorian President Houphouet-Boigny.

### Western Sahara

Howe, John. "Western Sahara: It's hotting up again." Africa, April 1980, pp. 29-32.

The war in the Western Sahara seems to be getting hot again. Faced with domestic economic problems, King Hassan may find himself forced to deal with Polisario. The United States, not wanting to anger Algeria, sent two representatives, including Andrew Young, to the celebrations of the fourth anniversary of the launching of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.

### Zaire

"Zaire: Salvaged but not saved." Africa Confidential, 9 April 1980, pp. 3-5.

"Western creditors have decided to grant Zaire yet another reprieve from financial disaster . . . [even though] the underlying reason for Zaire's malaise remains the moral bankruptcy of President Mobutu and the Zairian political elite." "There is continued scepticism whether Zaire, described in international circles as a 'kleptocracy' and a classic case study of mismanagement," will be able or willing to adhere to the "Stabilization Plan." Despite this, the article notes, Zaire's substantial economic potential and strategic geographic location are important factors in continued Western support for the Mobutu regime.

Approximately one-third of the article deals with US-Zaire relations. Despite strong criticism of Mobutu "in the American congress," the article concludes: "In the event of troubles (i.e., another Shaba crisis) in the future, it is clear that Zaire and its Western backers [France and Belgium] will . . . look to the US for assistance which, in the light of growing East/West tensions, they may well get."



## Zimbabwe

Howe, Russell Warren. "Looking Ahead In Zimbabwe." The New Leader, 24 March 1980, pp. 7-9.

A projection of Zimbabwe's short-term future and how Mugabe's election may affect South Africa. Howe suggests that: (1) within a few years Zimbabwe will have 100,000 whites--mostly expatriates--and that most industrial development will be foreign; (2) Mugabe is expected to nationalize the mining industry; (3) the PF will alter the constitution, notably eliminating the 20 "safe" white seats as well as the titular presidency; (4) friction is certain between ex-RSF African junior officers and guerrilla commanders, "that the U.S. is expected to play a role in the training," and that Mugabe may "borrow" a Nigerian general for his army.

Howe believes that the remarkable similarity of Afrikaans editorial reaction to Zimbabwe was "suggested" by the Botha government. More important, Howe casts South Africa in the mold of the Shah's belatedly reformist Iran ("revolution comes not when a regime is rigid but when it starts to bend . . .") and that South Africa will enter "a long and bloody revolution" possibly with whites accepting a "Europstan" in the western Cape.

Matthews, Robert O. "Talking Without Negotiating: The Case of Rhodesia." International Journal. Winter 1979-80, pp. 91-117.

Matthews contends that Smith entered negotiations primarily to give his Rhodesian Front regime extra breathing space to win allies, improve defenses, divide the enemy or, in the Victoria Falls case, to satisfy South Africa. After briefly sketching the various negotiations (from UDI, Tiger, and Fearless through the '77 Internal Settlement) Matthews concludes that Smith's undeniable tactical skills eventually backfired. As he prolonged the inevitable, Smith, according to Matthews, made it worse: "Having won earlier skirmishes, in the end he lost the war."

Schooler, Robert and Robert Paul. "The Rhodesian Experience Analysed Against the Ideal Conditions For Economic Sanctions." International Studies, July-September 1979, pp. 339-52.

Seven conditions are necessary before international economic sanctions may be effective ("imports make up a very small part of the exports of the sending nation . . ."). In Rhodesia's case, the authors note that "the ingenuity and creativeness of the private sector permitted multiple changes to be accommodated without substantial disruption of production and distribution." Extrapolating from their study, the authors suggest that a "substantial sacrifice of national self-interest over an extended period of time" is perhaps "impossible in a world of competitive nation states and multinational firms." Included are four pages of Rhodesian trade statistics up to 1973.

"We Must Set Our People Free." Africa, April 1980, pp. 14-17.

Interview with Robert Mugabe. Zimbabwe's new leader addresses his nation's immediate problems and what he hopes are the solutions. He mentions that "in

the armed forces we would like to see our men rapidly rise to the level of commanders, so there has to be an acceptance in the system that Black people can become senior soldiers."

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(Received in June 1980)

Africa General

- Amey, Alan B. and Leonard, David K. "Public Policy, Class and Inequality in Kenya and Tanzania." Africa Today, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1979), pp. 3-41.

Accepting the premise that economic problems interact with existing social structures to stimulate governmental responses, the authors examine the broad structural features of Kenya and Tanzania which have produced or altered governmental policies in an attempt to understand their consequences for income distribution and economic growth. Kenya and Tanzania are a good illustration as rarely has this interaction occurred in so dramatic and so short a period as in these two states.

- Bienen, Henry. "Perspectives On Soviet Intervention In Africa." Political Science Quarterly, Spring 1980, pp. 29-42.

How should an Africanist resolve the regionalist versus globalist controversy? Identifying himself as a regionalist, Bienen maintains that policy planners must understand specific African nations before applying their larger geopolitical grid.

Bienen notes that the opportunities for Soviet intervention in Africa have grown, yet he cautions against undue American alarm. While Nigeria is the only African state firmly opposed to non-African intervention and military and economic differentials have increased between African states and could invite outside forces, the United States will continue to enjoy access to natural resources. The West has an economic and technical superiority vis a vis the Soviets, and African nations wish to remain nonaligned. Bienen believes that the Soviets remain unable to deny specific African resources to the West and that the United States should not confuse change of governments with loss of access, viz. Cabinda or even South Africa. ("It does not follow that support for South Africa is the best way to maintain influence in southern Africa and to guarantee access to raw materials there. . . .")

- Kraus, Jon. "Islamic Affinities and International Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa." Current History, April 1980, pp. 154-58, 182-84.

The author claims that oil-rich Arab nations use their wealth to interfere in the internal affairs of African states. He finds, however, that recent events in the Middle East, especially Iran's militant Islamic revolution, have not stirred the resurgence of Muslim social forces in sub-Saharan Africa. Focus on Uganda, Chad, and Ethiopia.

- Stein, Leslie. The Growth of East African Exports and their Effect on Economic Developments. London: Croom Helm, 1979, 272 pp. [as reviewed in International Affairs (London), Vol. 56, No. 1 (1980), p. 184].

"Professor Stein's volume is a rather good summary survey of the structure and course of the economies of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania from 1960-

71. It describes the main features of their export patterns and sectors and underlines how unfortunate their opening export mix was because of the poor performance of coffee, tea, and sisal during the decade."

Vale, Peter. "Africa: Myths, Miracles and Mirrors." Survival, May-June 1980, pp. 114-19.

In a brief review of African events in 1979, the author attempts to analyze shifting trends in the continent's affairs and to reassess some basic South African perceptions. The ouster of three dictators and the shift from military to civilian governments in two other countries appeared to favor Western interests. Western economic involvement, principally through the Lome Convention, also refutes South African assumptions of waning Western influence in favor of Soviet interests. He advises South Africans to look to Zimbabwe and Namibia for examples of future developments inside South Africa.

#### Chad

Azoulay, Claude. "J'ai vu agoniser le Tchad." Paris Match, 23 May 1980, pp. 54-57.

Description and pictures of the fighting in Chad.

"A Chad Dossier." Africa News, 12 May 1980, pp. 5-8.

Background material on Chad's internal situation and external involvement by Libya, Egypt, and Sudan.

"France chided on Chad." Foreign Report, 14 May 1980, pp. 6-7.

Briefly examines French relations with Chad in light of the French-African summit in Nice.

#### Ethiopia

Blackhurst, Hector. "Ethnicity In Southern Ethiopia: The General and the Particular." Africa, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1980), pp. 55-66.

Author uses cultural assimilation by the Tulama, or Shoan Oromo, to emphasize that "concentration on Amhara domination is unduly restrictive because it focuses attention on only one type of situation," i.e., northern domination, and that "no simple equation can be drawn up which associates northern Christians living in the south with a superior politico-economic position." The author's point appears weakened by the fact that the Tulama migrated south much later than the Amhara, had many Oromo characteristics and that the number of Tulama (which Blackhurst never even guesses at) appears to have been quite small.

Rubenson, Sven. The Survival of Ethiopian Independence. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1976, 437 pp. [as reviewed in the Revue Canadienne des Etudes Africains, Vol. 14, No. 1 (1980), pp. 169-78].

Ethiopia was the only African nation to escape European rule in the 19th and early 20th centuries. It was independent not only in name but in fact, and was the beacon to all of the rest of Africa under colonial rule. The author's thesis is that the nations, notably Great Britain and Italy, which sought to invade Ethiopia in order to colonize it consistently underestimated its basic unity and military strength.

#### Ivory Coast

"Ivory Coast: Post-Houphouet calculations." Africa Confidential, 4 June 1980, pp. 4-6.

An unease has settled over Ivory Coast: crime is on the increase, ethnic hostility is rising, and instability in Ghana and Liberia is causing worry. The Parti Democratique de la Cote d'Ivoire (PDCI) is scheduled to hold its congress in the fall. One of the anticipated results of the congress is the naming of a successor to the President. There is little possibility for the establishment of a multiparty system but certain functions of the PDCI are likely to be democratized. France's declining influence in the internal affairs of Ivory Coast is documented. Also discussed are Ivory Coast's current economic problems, including International Monetary Fund and World Bank recommendations for belt-tightening and curtailing development programs.

#### Kenya

Coldham, Simon F. R. "Land-Tenure in Kenya: The Limits of Law." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 17, No. 4 (1979), pp. 615-27.

Customary law has been seen as an impediment to development in Kenya, and as an obstacle preventing it from becoming a strong, united nation. For this reason, reform of the laws governing land ownership in Kenya has been rigorously pursued by government policymakers. It is designed to put an end to land disputes and to introduce a safe, simple, and cheap system of conveyance. In addition, it is hoped that it will encourage farmers to invest labor and profits in their holdings, and will enable them to offer registered titles as security for credit. All of these changes would spur development in the rural areas.

#### Liberia

"Liberian Revolution Founders." West Africa, 9 June 1980, pp. 1005, 1007-9.

One of the first severely critical accounts of the Liberian revolution to appear in print. The People's Redemption Council (PRC) is faulted for

tribalism, corruption, and repression. Brigadier General Quiwonkpa (former Staff Sgt) is being built up by the local media as the "strongman" of the revolution. The civilian cabinet is characterized as being split into Progressive People's Party (PPP) and Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA) factions. The author feels that if popular elections were held today, MOJA would be the clear winner. For this reason, PPP members favor the maintenance of military rule until their party can consolidate support. The article also claims that Mr. Bai Gbala, a Krahn and former leader of the Union of Liberian Student Organizations in the United States, has been promised by Sgt Doe that he will become Liberia's next president when the government is returned to civilian rule.

#### Namibia

Henriksen, Thomas H. "Namibia: A Comparison with Anti-Portuguese Insurgency." The Round Table, April 1980, pp. 184-94.

There appear to be more differences than similarities between the Namibian and anti-Portuguese insurgencies. Although both followed the Chinese model of guerrilla warfare and operated from neighboring independent states, each insurgency has been affected by its counter-revolutionary foe. Comparatively, South Africa was initially more tolerant toward Southwest Africa Peoples' Organization than Portugal was toward its African critics. SWAPO's hope that international fora would effect South Africa's exit from Namibia also slowed down the radicalization of revolutionary forces. The anti-Portuguese groups were aided by the demoralization of Portuguese troops while the South African Defense Force is still committed to defending the territory.

#### Nigeria

Barrett, Lindsay. Danjuma. Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co. [as reviewed in West Africa, 25 May 1980, pp. 929-30].

" . . . A useful, if limited, contribution to the history of Nigeria under military rule." Traces the career of Lt Gen Danjuma, former Chief of Staff of Nigeria's Army.

Umoh, Umoh James. "Political Strain in Nigeria's Trade Union Movement." West Africa, 26 May 1980, pp. 924-26.

The break-up of the Nigerian Labor Congress into ideological factions would be a blow to Nigerian workers. This will be the likely result if Marxist union leaders persist in their efforts to turn the Congress into a left wing movement.

### South Africa

Manning, Robert and Talbot, Stephen. "American Cover-up on Israeli Bomb." The Middle East, June 1980, pp. 8-12.

The major article in the June volume. The authors present evidence strongly suggesting that South Africa and/or Israel exploded a nuclear device on 22 September. They also examine the history of nuclear research in these two countries.

Thomas, Wolfgang H. "A Southern African 'Constellation of States': Challenge or Myth?" South Africa International, January 1980, pp. 113-28.

The author assesses variants of the constellation concept, focusing on economic, military, and political considerations. He concludes that economic cooperation will probably grow regardless of the formal establishment of a constellation but that any military understanding is doubtful in view of political differences. The most crucial determinants of a successful constellation relationship will be the attitude of independent Namibian and Zimbabwean Governments toward South Africa.

### Sudan

"A Sudanese View." Africa Currents, No. 19/20, Spring/Summer 1980, pp. 50-53.

"An interview with Sadeq al-Mahdi, former Sudanese Prime Minister (until the May 1969 revolution) and leader of the Sudanese opposition in exile until his reconciliation with President Numeiry in July 1977. He is the great-grandson of the Mahdi and leader of the Ansars." He briefly discusses a wide variety of topics concerning Sudanese international and internal politics.

Turner, Sue. "The Gezira Scheme: Restructuring the Future." Sudanow (Khartoum), March 1980, pp. 33-46.

"Last month the World Bank agreed to a loan of almost \$30 million for the reconstruction of the Gezira scheme." This article attempts to answer the question: "What has gone wrong with Sudan's most important agricultural producer and exporter?" The article also includes an interview with the managing director of the Sudan Gezira Board (SGB), Dr. Hassan el-Tayeb.

### Tanzania

Briggs, John. "Villagisation and the 1974-76 Economic Crisis in Tanzania." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 17, No. 4 (1979), pp. 695-702.

It has often been argued that the Arusha Declaration, that brought about collectivization in the Tanzanian countryside, was the basis for the tremendous economic crisis of 1974-76. The author contends that these

economically disastrous years were the result of the 1973 villagisation effort in combination with a drought. That is, the collectivization program was well conceived but its implementation was not.

Kurtz, Laura S. Historical Dictionary of Tanzania. London: Scarecrow Press, 1978, xxxi, 331 pp. [as reviewed in Africa (International African Institute, London), Vol. 50, No. 1, 1980].

An accurate well-presented dictionary of Tanzania's history is overdue, but the reviewer of this book states that this attempt "is neither accurate, nor well presented." He also faults its superficiality. Every page contains errors, half-truths, and nonsensical statements.

#### Uganda

Miller, Judith. "When Sanctions Worked." Foreign Policy, Summer 1980, pp. 118-29.

Economic sanctions, once shunned by American foreign policymakers in all but the most serious of international confrontations, are thought to be ineffective in achieving their desired results. In the cases of Cuba and Rhodesia this was true. But there is at least one little-noted case of US economic reprisals that proved far more than symbolic. On 10 October 1978, President Carter signed into law a total trade ban against the government of Idi Amin. Less than 6 months later, Amin's 8-year rule came to an end. There is considerable evidence that American sanctions proved devastating to the Ugandan economy and that they helped set in motion the events that led to the fall of the regime. In this respect, the author claims, the American boycott can be regarded as a success and a promising foreign policy tool.

#### Zaire

Kalamiya, Kallu. "Rape of Sovereignty: OTRAG in Zaire." Review of African Political Economy, No. 14, January-April 1979, pp. 16-35.

The author concludes: "It is for the progressive nations and peoples of the world to denounce this OTRAG Agreement, to expose the true nature of the Mobutu regime in enslaving the people of Zaire to imperialism, and to support them combat the neocolonial and illegitimate regime of Mobutu."

Katongole Kyalo, R. C. "Who Goes Home?" Sudanow (Khartoum), March 1980, pp. 18-19.

This article discusses Zaire's current attempts to encourage Zairian refugees to return to Zaire from southern Sudan. Specific mention is made of the 1978 offer of amnesty and the newest agreement--now officially known as the Paris Agreement--reached in September 1979 "providing for the safe repatriation of the refugees."



"Message presidentiel du 4 fevrier." Zaire, No. 546, March 1980, pp. 14-29.

A 16-page reprint of the 4 February 1980 "State of the Union Message" given by President Mobutu (in French).

Nzongola-Ntalaja. "The Continuing Struggle for National Liberation in Zaire." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 17, No. 4 (1979), pp. 595-614.

The purpose of this article is to elucidate the factors underlying the rise of political opposition against the Mobutu regime. The article traces the growth of organized opposition to four interrelated phenomena: (1) the ideological split in the anticolonial nationalist movement between 'radicals' and 'moderates'; (2) the leadership struggle among the moderates themselves; (3) the neocolonial character and tasks of the post-colonial state; and (4) the autocratic nature of Mobutu's oppressive rule. Despite the numerous differences dividing the Zairian opposition groups, "they all agree that their common primary task is to overthrow the contemporary (Mobutu) regime."

#### Zambia

Shaw, Timothy M. "Dilemmas of Dependence and (Under) Development: Conflicts and Choices in Zambia's Present and Prospective Foreign Policy." Africa Today, Winter 1979, pp. 43-65.

Plagued by vicious and continuing crises, Zambia must soon pay the price for following conventional development policies.

Entering independence, Zambia overly relied on the international copper market, southern white states, and advanced western economies, especially Britain's. Choosing a presumably safe policy of state capitalism, Zambia began reorganizing without redistributing--the rich got richer and the poor got poorer as the top 2 percent of Zambians controlled 20 percent of the wealth. A growing bourgeoisie, created directly or indirectly by copper, pressured the Humanistic Kaunda to achieve detente with the south as well as greater integration into the western economic grid. Shaw contends that this policy, when followed, has created growing class differences among Zambians.

Such unpredictable variables as the copper price and regional political events will control Zambia's future. Shaw would prefer a greater reliance on socialism and believes that Zambia will enter either a "regression-revolutionary" or "repression-regression" stage ("repression remains undefined but the context implies violence). The "revolutionary" era would be socialistic, allotting more political and economic participation and greater international economic autonomy. The "regression" stage would, in Shaw's view, ossify the present inequities with an emphasis on order and (highly skewed) growth with little attempt to promote equalitarianism.

## Zimbabwe

Anti-Apartheid Movement. Fire Force Exposed. 89 Charlotte St., London. [as reviewed in New African, February 1980, p. 49].

"A comprehensive, factual account of the composition and strengths of the various Rhodesian Security Force units. Much of the information is virtually unknown outside Rhodesia . . . . The information in this book illustrates the close collaboration that exists between the Rhodesian and South African armed forces and military intelligence networks."

Gann, Lewis. "American Policy Toward Zimbabwe-Rhodesia: A Reappraisal." South Africa International, Vol. 10, No. 3 (January 1980), pp. 129-140.

Defends Smith, Muzorewa, and Sithole as advocates of a multiracial, multiparty Z-R, while lambasting Patriotic Front as dedicated to the "creation of a one-party dictatorship." Written a year ago, the article assumes that the PF is "unlikely to participate in a genuinely free election" and that Lancaster is unlikely to arrive at a settlement.

Sanger, Clyde. "Zimbabwe: a new beginning after 14 years of Ian Smith." International Perspectives, January-February 1980, pp. 14-17.

An optimistic view of Zimbabwe's future. Sanger notes white (and black) fears about Kenya in the early 1960s and how the Mau-Mau took independence and nationalism seriously. Sanger believes that the Patriotic Front made the most concessions at Lancaster House and thus showed commendable restraint which Sanger believes will continue after independence. (Sanger is not totally prescient, predicting that General Walls would hinder army integration "and might even engineer a coup.")

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(Received in July 1980)

Africa General

Auma-Osolo, Agola. "Objective Military African Control." Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1980), pp. 29-46.

Using Nigeria as a case study the author suggests that an army's professionalism (apparently defined by formal training) is no guarantee against coups. Indeed, African politicians (and Western scholars) should recognize "the military's right to equal participation in the political process and especially in the making of foreign policy."

Bowman, Larry. "African Conflict and Superpower Involvement in the Western Indian Ocean." American Universities Field Staff Reports, No. 18 (1980), 9 pp.

While Russia and the United States increasingly consider the Indian Ocean as a competitive arena, Bowman writes that regional conflicts are not always amenable to superpower manipulation. Indeed, various elites and regional groups may be tempted to gain superpower support, thereby escalating parochial issues into global significance. While competing for littoral influence, strategic position, and international support, the US suffers from past (and present) links to white regimes. And, "our concern about procedures, our distaste for violence . . . and our obsessions about Soviet assistance to the forces of change often leads us to support the status quo."

"Forging a tripartite nexus." Africa, No. 100, December 1979, pp. 31-32.

A tripartite meeting of the heads of state of Zaire, Zambia, and Angola was held in Zambia in mid-October 1979. The three leaders "laid down a broad-based and determined resolution of regional cooperation in the fields of economy, politics, as well as, defence and security of their countries from belligerence of Rhodesia and South Africa."

"The Horn's Homeless." Africa News, 5 May 1980, pp. 5-9.

A rather detailed narrative concerning the "refugees fleeing from war and drought" in Somalia, Djibouti, and Sudan.

Mazrui, Ali A. "The Liberal Revival in Black Africa." Africa Report, Vol. 25, No. 4, July-August 1980, pp. 45-47.

This essay examines what Mazrui sees as a new trend towards liberal democracy in Africa. Senegal is cited as the prime example of a country which has returned to multiparty politics, has lessened controls on the judiciary, and permitted competitive elections, and is compared to other African countries which have "liberalized" within the past few years. Return to civilian rule and the overthrow of dictators are cited as further proof of the author's position.

N'Daiye, Cheikh A.T. "The geographical and political dimensions in the West African economy." Afrika, April 1980, pp. 15-17.

A report by an international marketing analyst in which he cites the geographical and political obstacles to the economic development of West Africa.

Smock, David R. and Miller, Norman. "Soviet Designs in Africa." American Universities Field Staff Reports, No. 17 (1980), 17 pp.

Examines Soviet activity and evaluates its impact on African states over the past two decades. Emphasis is placed on East African reactions to the Soviet presence on the continent since the USSR invaded Afghanistan. In an interesting section, the authors speculate on the long- and short-term policy options available to the United States and other Western nations in response to Soviet-African policies.

"Sudan--Ethiopia: The Reasons for Reconciliation." The Middle East Reporter, 7 June 1980, pp. 17-19.

Relations between Sudan and Ethiopia have improved. "This was climaxed by a 5-day state visit to the Sudan late last month by Ethiopian leader Colonel Mengistu Haile Miriam. . . ." Colonel Mengistu and Sudanese President Numeiry held extensive talks on bilateral relations and other African affairs. "Few details [about the talks] were disclosed in the joint communique that was released." The article focuses on the "real causes for this reconciliation."

#### Congo

"Congo: Waiting for Act Two." Africa, No. 99, November 1979, pp. 52-55.

"Eight months after what looked like an act of political purification--the eviction of General Yhombi-Opango and the strengthening of the country's socialist stance--the People's Republic of the Congo is waiting for the second act: the social purification which should follow in the wake of the attempt at economic revival." The article also contains a brief interview with Congolese President Sassou-Nguesso.

"France Maintains Economic Grip." New African, February 1980, p. 59.

"The Congo's economy is still painfully dependent on loans and aid for its former colonial master." Recently, "a top-ranking Congolese delegation to Paris sought new areas of co-operation with France." Despite the fact that "this link with France was one of the chief reasons given" for the ouster of former President Joachim Yhombi-Opango in 1979, close economic ties continue to develop. "Meanwhile, Colonel Nguesso announced an amnesty."

Hughes, Anthony J. "President Denis Sassou-Nguesso of the Congo." Africa Report, May-June 1980, pp. 8-9.

President Sassou-Nguesso discusses domestic and international topics in this interview with Mr. Hughes. The interview concludes with a very brief overview of US-Congo relations.

#### Equatorial Guinea

Pelissier, Rene. "Autopsy of a Miracle." Africa Report, May-June 1980, pp. 10-14.

A rather detailed account of the rise and fall of the former Equatorial Guinean dictator, Macias Nguema. Mention is also made of the special Spanish-Equatorial Guinean relationship following the ouster of Nguema. The author criticizes the "effort to whitewash" various members of the new junta who had previously supported the dictator.

#### Ethiopia

Guillerez, Bernard. "La Corree de L'Afrique: Vers une hegemonie ethiopienne?" Defense Nationale, May 1980, pp. 175-78.

The author believes that Moscow has undertaken a new strategy in the Red Sea and Horn region since its invasion of Afghanistan. The recent rapprochement with Sudan is evidence that Ethiopia is increasing its efforts to isolate Somalia. By advocating nonalignment and respect for national integrity, the author claims that Ethiopia will find a responsive cord among its neighbors--Djibouti, Sudan, and Kenya--and become the region's leader. This is all part of Moscow's strategy to freeze the United States out of the area in which it is now seeking base facilities.

#### Guinea

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Guinee: Qui Va Payer?" Jeune Afrique, No. 1012, 28 May 1980, pp. 36-38.

The attempted assassination of Sekou Toure on 14 May threatens the detente between Guinea and its former colonial master, France. In the view of Andriamirado, a master journalist of Jeune Afrique, Toure, who perhaps under French goading has appeared less brutal to his former enemies than in the past, may return to his old illiberal ways.

#### Ivory Coast

Madopu, Clarence. "Changes in the Air." Africa, June 1980, pp. 61-62.

"After ruling the Ivory Coast since independence in 1960, President Houphouet-Boigny is planning changes in the country's body politic that

may determine what happens when he finally steps down from office. The stage has been set for the changes by the convening of the 7th Congress of the ruling PDCI-RDA party where the President is expected to announce his moves."

#### Liberia

"Liberia: The New Men." Africa Confidential, 21 May 1980, pp. 3-4.

A brief description of the post-coup situation in Liberia. Military men, not civilians, are clearly in control. There are simmering problems within the government--dominance of the People's Redemption Council (PRC) by the Krahn tribal group, rivalry between the People's Progressive Party (PPP) and the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), and PRC excesses. Statements made just after the coup by Minister of Economics and Planning Dr. Tipoteh, intended to illustrate Liberia's grave financial condition are debunked.

#### Mauritania

"Mauritanian outlook." West Africa, 16 June 1980, pp. 1066-68.

The article provides an International Monetary Fund (IMF) economic survey. Withdrawal from the conflict in the Western Sahara and an improvement in trade have brightened the economic prospects for the country in 1980. Nevertheless, the 1979 Gross Domestic Product was only slightly higher than it had been 5 years previously. Mining of iron ore at Guelbs (14 million tons annually by 1984) ought to improve things even more.

#### Niger

Bernus, Edmond. "Famines Et Secheresses Chez Les Touaregs Saheliens: Les nouritures de substitution." Africa, Vol. 50, No. 1, 1980, pp. 1-7.

For the Tuareg of the Sahel, recurring droughts mean recurring famines. The milk and millet diet of these nomads, no longer available, finds a ready substitute in the seeds of grasses and fruits of trees. These foods allow for survival until better conditions allow the Tuareg to return to their preferred diet.

Diallo, Siradiou, "Un Pays Visite Par L'Espoir." Jeune Afrique, No. 1015, 18 June 1980, pp. 24-27.

Niger with its new wealth from the sale of uranium is presented in a most favorable light by the author. The military government is lauded for its careful, austere, and incorrupt handling of its wealth and for its humane treatment of former imprisoned civilian leaders. Carefully avoiding

political confrontation, uranium ore, ". . . a marketable commodity like any other," has found its way to Libya and Pakistan, as well as to Western European countries.

#### Nigeria

"Nigeria: A Special Report." The Times (London), 20 June 1980.

A tour d'horizon of life in Nigeria which includes articles on labor, religion, education, industry, business, foreign policy, and history written by authors familiar with the country.

#### Senegal

Kessler, Richard J. "Senghor's Foreign Policy: Preparation for a Transition." Africa Report, March-April 1980, pp. 47-51.

After Senghor, what? represents the underlying theme to fears about Senegal's future? Senegal's dismal economic picture causes speculation as to whether or not Senegal will survive the departure of Senghor. Increasing Soviet and Warsaw Pact influences have alarmed Senghor who fears factionalism and mistrusts the reserve of the West to counteract Warsaw Pact initiatives.

#### Sierra Leone

Hitchcock, John. "Hosting the OAU." Africa Report, July-August 1980, pp. 16-18.

Sierra Leone, the host of the 1980 OAU Summit, may pay dearly for the privilege, not only in terms of the dollar cost, but also with regard to its continued political stability. "The troubles of Uganda and Liberia are traceable in part to the recent summits held in these countries." One solution to the problem of poor nations hosting the summit is to establish a permanent site for the conference, but so far, the organization seems resigned to continue the policy of site rotation.

"Sierra Leone: Counting the Cost." Africa Confidential, 2 July 1980, pp. 5-6.

A brief summary of the Stevens' regime in Sierra Leone which questions the wisdom of holding the OAU Summit (which cost \$130 million) in this impoverished nation.

#### South Africa

"Four Years After Soweto: Resistance Escalates." Southern Africa, June 1980, pp. 2-3.

Continuing unrest in South Africa belies the government's claims of progress. Recent demonstrations by colored students and striking workers have displayed more organization and militancy than were evident 4 years ago. Colored workers, as well as the students, refused to accept any status different than that of blacks while making their demands.

Hill, Walter W. "A Rejoinder to the Hubner-Dick and Seidelmann South African Sanctions Model." Journal of Peace Research, No. 1, Vol. XVII, (1980), pp. 77-83.

Critique of a multivariate model based on the use of system dynamics for possible consequences of an economic boycott of South Africa. Heavy technical terminology but basic criticism surrounds lack of complexity in the model which oversimplifies some ambiguities in the South African situation.

#### Sudan

"\$6.6 Billion to Make Sudan Grain Basket of the Arab World." The Arab World Weekly, 10 May 1980, pp. 3-5.

"The Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development is currently investing \$510 million over the next 3 years in agricultural projects. These projects are part of a plan that runs over a 25-year period and will ensure the transformation of Sudan into the breadbasket of the Arab world." Estimated investments for the first 10 years are \$6.6 billion. "Some 100 projects should be completed" in this period. "These projects would enable Sudan to provide some 40% of the Arab world's food requirements by 1985."

"Economy in Focus." Middle East Newsletter, 14 July-10 August 1980, pp. 12-13.

A very pessimistic view of Sudan's current and future economic situation.

"Sudan may try to put pressure on the Eritreans for a settlement." An-Nahar Arab Report & Memo, 7 April 1980, pp. 2-3.

President Numeiry has suggested that Ethiopia and the Eritreans "might model a settlement on that adopted by Sudan itself in 1972, when a degree of autonomy was granted to the southern region." Sudan has more "interest than most countries in seeing the 19-year-old war in Eritrea brought to an end." Not only does the Sudan have to face serious domestic and economic problems, but it must bear the brunt of feeding and housing about half a million refugees, most of them Eritreans. "Sudan's chances of promoting a settlement have increased with the recent improvements in relations between Khartoum and Addis Ababa and between Khartoum and the rest of the Arab world, in particular with Iraq," a major source of funds for the Eritrean rebels.



### Togo

"Assassination File." New African, February 1980, pp. 8-10.

An attempt to untangle the conspiratorial web that President Eyadema of Togo has weaved which includes Gilchrist Olympio, the son of murdered Togolese head of state Sylvanus Olympio, and foreign mercenaries. A recent assassination attempt against Olympio may have been contrived by him to gain publicity. Likewise, the supposed mercenary assault on Eyadema in 1977 may have been set up by the Togolese President. Olympio's assorted business affairs are reviewed.

"Constitution de la republique togolaise." Afrique Contemporaine, No. 108, March-April 1980, pp. 19-23.

A copy (in French) of the Togolese Constitution which was accepted by referendum on 30 December 1979.

### Zaire

"Mobutu Concerned for His Image." New African, February 1980, pp. 24-25.

"Zaire's President Mobutu granted an amnesty to officers convicted for attempting to oust him, to offset his anti-human rights reputation among his Western creditors."

"Reorganization of Zairean Intelligence Services." Summary of World Broadcasts (BBC), ME/6404/B/1-3, 25 April 1980.

"Text of report on four Ordinances signed by President Mobutu, datelined Kinshasa, 21 April 1980."

### Zambia

Libby, Ronald T. and Woakes, Michael E. "Nationalization and the Displacement of Development Policy." African Studies Review, Vol. 23, No. 1, (1980), pp. 33-50.

Libby and Woakes believe that the Zambian Government was wrong to nationalize the mining industry in 1969 since the government could--or would--not realize the contradiction between profit maximization and using industry for social development (geographical diversification of plants . . .). Furthermore, when copper prices declined in 1975 the government had to loan the mines substantial revenues originally destined for social programs. The authors support such less drastic measures to control multinational corporations as foreign exchange controls and tax legislation. They conclude that the nationalization "must raise serious doubts about nationalization as a suitable policy for controlling the economy."

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Africa General

Adesanya, Afolabi. "The dangers of coups." West Africa, 28 July 1980, pp. 1397-98.

A rambling condemnation of military intervention in Africa. The frequency with which military coups occur is deplored but little is offered in the way of solutions. The author maintains that the African military institution has degenerated into a picaresque syndrome and concludes that "as long as self-styled 'politicians of caliber' remain inclined to adversary politics, the military is likely to be involved in politics."

Barouhi, Abdelaziz. "Ou trouver neuf milliards de dollars? (Where can \$9 billion be found?)" Jeune Afrique, 23 July 1980, pp. 45-54.

Rail, air, sea and road transport and routes, projections for the future, and the problems of finding the \$10 billion for their construction are the focus of this long article. The political and economic importance of transport as a uniting force for Africa receives special attention. The present difficulties of Air Afrique, one of the few inter-African ventures, underscores difficulties faced by countries on this enormous continent.

Donze, Marie-Ange. "Ils sont fous ces Chinois . . . (They are crazy, Those Chinese . . .)." Jeune Afrique, 9 July 1980, pp. 42-43.

Technical assistance programs of China are highly regarded by both government officials and the peasant population. Living in circumstances close to the native peoples, the Chinese and their motives are not understood, but their work earns endless praise.

Doxey, Margaret. "Strategies in multilateral diplomacy: The Commonwealth, Southern Africa, and the NIEO." International Journal, Spring 1980, pp. 329-56.

Examines the "range and input of diplomatic strategies developed by Third World countries in institutional settings." Concentrates on the relative effectiveness of the Commonwealth in solving the Rhodesian and Southern African problems. Notes that Britain decided against resuming South African shipments as a result of the Singapore Commonwealth meeting, whereas 8 years later the Commonwealth countries meeting in Lusaka convinced Mrs. Thatcher of the importance of a negotiated settlement with the Patriotic Front.

Keegan, John. World Armies. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1979, 843 pp. [A bibliographic entry in A Current Bibliography on African Affairs, Vol. 12, No. 4 (1979-80), p. 517.]

Describes the armed strength of individual nation's military in encyclopedic form. Provides details such as its social background and

constitutional relationship with the state. Reviewer states that the coverage of African armies is slight as compared with the rest, but that it does include an appendix on "Africa, Armies of Nations formerly British or French Colonies--An Historical Note."

"A New Era of Sergeants in Africa?" Afriscope, Vol. 10, Nos. 3 & 4 (1980), pp. 22-23.

In the 1960s, the coup of the generals dominated African politics. Has this trend been replaced by the coup of the sergeants? The coups in Ghana and Liberia lend credence to this phenomenon but the author feels that if there is no fundamental change in society following a revolution, it is unlikely that this chain of events will continue. "The tragedy of military rule in Africa is that it has in almost all cases left a more corrupt, impoverished . . . polity than it inherited." The author concludes that as the struggle for scarce resources increases, armed violence--rather than military violence--may become a future trend.

Rondos, Alex. "Problems that food creates." West Africa, 16 June 1980, pp. 1053, 1055.

The threat of a recurrence of the Sahel drought has led to a discussion of food aid as a cure and a retarding factor to eventual food self-sufficiency. The cases of Mali and Cape Verde are underscored. Mali, potentially self-sufficient in food, is plagued by artificially low prices paid to producers and the rise of an illegal market. Cape Verde, on the other hand, will probably never be food self-sufficient but has avoided creating a "mentality of dependence."

Shvedov, A. and Litvin, V. "The Soviet Union and African Nations." International Affairs, June 1980, pp. 54-62.

Authors note the "decisive significance of the aid and support given by the Soviet Union to Africans" in the pre and post independence periods. They emphasize the direct UN role and indirect OAU role of the Soviet Union. While downplaying the USSR's military assistance, they play up economic aid ("Tens of thousands of Soviet specialists are assisting the newborn states in their national industries. . .").

Tarabin, E. "Afrika: Osvoboditelnaya Borba i Proiski Imperializma (Africa: Liberation Struggle and the Intrigues of Imperialism)." Mirovnaya Ekonomika i Mezhdurodnaya Otnasheniya (World Economics and International Affairs), June 1980, pp. 64-74.

The author describes the means and methods of the imperialists to interrupt the process of final liberation of African nations. The imperialists, by using the myth of the "Soviet threat", involve the developing nations of Africa in military cooperation arrangements that hamper their economic development. By maintaining the young African nations in this dependent state, the imperialists are able to continue robbing these countries of their natural resources.

"Where natural and man-made disasters get together." Economist, 14 June 1980, pp. 37-38.

Approximately 10 million people in northeast Africa are victims of drought and/or war and civil strife. This article gives a brief overview of the plight of these refugees country-by-country. In conclusion, "it took a coordinated international effort to save the Cambodian survivors; nothing less will avert a potentially bigger tragedy in north-east Africa."

#### Central African Empire

"CAR faces austere two years." West Africa, 14 July 1980, pp. 1278-79.

This article looks at the problems of reconstruction which the Central African Republic must surmount on its way back to "normality." Agricultural production and development of a transportation infrastructure are the two principal concerns now facing the CAR. Unemployment and student unrest are also serious obstacles to stability. The article discusses France's "interests" in the CAR.

#### East Africa

Northeast African Studies. [A newly launched scholarly review published by the Northeast African Studies Committee of Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, thrice yearly. This publication incorporates the Ethiopianist Notes which halted publication last year, and was reviewed in A Current Bibliography on African Studies, No. 4, 1979-80].

This new journal intends to focus on research being conducted in Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, and the Red Sea Littoral. The first issue has an article on the origins and structure of Ethiopia's Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) and more historical pieces dealing with Somalia's colonial past and Ethiopia's position on the Horn of Africa.

#### Gabon

Carmin, Enver. "Transgabon railway fights growing costs." Africa Economic Digest, 13 June 1980, pp. 2-3.

The need for the Transgabon railway has never been more urgent. Gabon is currently paying more than \$57 million per year to get its manganese across the Congo border to the port of Pointe Noire for export. This article contains detailed financial information and an excellent map of the railroad.

### Ghana

Harrell-Bond, Barbara. "Diary of a Revolution 'Which Might Have Been'." American Universities Field Staff Reports, No. 24 (1980), 15 pp.

The author was in Ghana at the time of the 4 June 1979 coup and offers her detailed recollections which are heavily favorable to Flt Lt Rawlings and somewhat critical of the current civilian administration. Rawlings is portrayed as a humble, well-meaning visionary who almost lost control of the revolution because of the excesses of the enlisted ranks and university students. Offers no new information about the revolution.

### Liberia

Gurley, Peter D. "Liberia's PRC puts its case." West Africa, 18 August 1980, pp. 1543-44.

The author is the Liberian Minister of Information. His article is a reponse to recent criticism of the April revolution. The achievements of the People's Redemption Council (PRC) are enumerated, the most important of which is the PRC's anticorruption drive and its egalitarian ideals.

"PRC Looks Outward as Economy Worsens." Africa News, 4 August 1980, pp. 3-4.

A brief account of the Liberian financial crisis. There is reason for optimism, however, because the Liberian Government has agreed to the terms of a \$30 million IMF loan which is expected to clear the way for a \$13 million commercial loan from a New York bank. No details of the terms imposed by the IMF are given.

Powers, Charles T. "Under Reclusive Sgt. Doe, Liberia Lives in Suspense." Los Angeles Times, 27 July 1980.

An examination of the state of Liberia since the April 1980 coup which portrays Master Sgt Doe as naive, uneducated but well-meaning, and that lack of sophistication of soldiers in power may be a stabilizing force. Powers suggests that Doe and guerrilla warfare specialist Major William Jerbo planned together to overthrow President Tolbert. A rift developed between them and Doe went ahead with the coup. Jerbo was accused of attempting a counter coup and finally killed while trying to flee to Sierra Leone. A fear now is that the People's Redemption Council will be unable to satisfy the rising expectations of the masses.

### Madagascar

Luzard, Pierre, ed. "Special Madagascar: cinq ans seulement. . . . (Special: Madagascar After Only 5 Years. . . .)" Afrique-Asie, No. 216, June-July 1980, 80 pp.

"Only 5 years . . ." refers to the takeover by President Ratsiraka and the beginning of the Socialist revolution in Madagascar. The article catalogues the accomplishments of the Peoples Republic of Madagascar and cites the positive accomplishments of the regime. The journalistic merit is compromised by the glowing terms used which read like a propaganda tract of the Madagascar Government.

### Nigeria

Akinyemi, A. Bolaji. "Religion and Foreign Affairs: Press Attitudes Towards the Nigerian Civil War." The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1980), pp. 56-81.

An analysis of international opinion of the Nigerian Civil War through an examination of press coverage by the Egyptian Gazette, The Dawn (Karachi), The Jerusalem Post, and The Statesman (Calcutta). The first two newspapers clearly favored the Federal side; the latter two sided with the Biafran cause. The author suggests that the Federal forces (composed mainly of northern Muslims) were acceptable to Muslim Egypt and Pakistan. Israel identified with the plight of the non-Muslim Biafrans and reacted against Egypt. India's reactions were a reflection of its animosity towards Pakistan as well as a response of its non-Muslim majority.

"Alhaji Shehu Shagari." Current Biography, August 1980, pp. 33-36.

Traces President Shagari's life, from his early schooling through his years as a teacher and public servant, up to his election as President of Nigeria.

"Awolowo boycotts political meeting." West Africa, 28 July 1980, pp. 1378-79.

The 22 July meeting, convoked by President Shagari to discuss the proposal of increased pay for public officials and the creation of new states, was boycotted by the leader of the United Party of Nigeria, Chief Awolowo. All five UPN governors did attend, however. Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim, head of the Greater Nigerian People's Party, chose not to attend to protest the government's handling of the Shugaba affair. Both GNPP governors were present.

"Nigerians call for 14 more states--so far." West Africa, 11 August 1980, pp. 1479-80.

The President of the Senate has received demands for the creation of new states out of Nigeria's current 19 states. In the past, minorities' fears have been at the heart of the demand for more states. Now, revenue sharing--the distribution of Nigeria's oil wealth--appears to be the paramount motivational factor in the demands. Tough constitutional requirements and the present disinclination of the federal government to consider the issue are working against the effort.

Okoli, Erukora Joe. "Mending Anglo-Nigerian fences." West Africa, 28 July 1980, pp. 1373-75.

Nigerian Foreign Minister Professor Ishaya Audu recently visited Britain and met with Prime Minister Thatcher and Foreign Secretary Carrington. Among topics discussed were: Nigerian nationalization of British Petroleum, press freedom in Nigeria, the handling of Nigerian prisoners in Britain, and the trade imbalance which favors Britain.

#### Senegal

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Senegal-France: Une Amitie (Senegal-France: A Freindship)." Jeune Afrique, 6 August 1980, pp. 14-17.

A close cooperation and friendship which exists between France and Senegal is examined. Senegal's economic plight, openly discussed and admitted to its citizens resulted in a more than generous aid package from France. Positive in tone, the article discusses the austerity program to be put into effect. It compares the generosity of France with the miserliness of the Arab petroleum producers who court Muslim Senegal but offer little monetary support.

#### Sierra Leone

"Sierra Leone: A Paradoxical Stability." Africa News, 21 July 1980, pp. 5-9.

This article is excerpted from the June 1980 issue of Monthly Review and was written under the pen name of "Frank Ly." It is a bitingly critical, mildly-socialist commentary on the Stevens Government in Sierra Leone. The author states that between 1968 and 1978, Stevens increased military expenditures three-fold in real terms. The army was "packed off into the hills, where newly-built barracks, better pay and conditions, and extra rice and booze rations kept their minds . . . on the pursuit of pleasure rather than politics." Western interests have repeatedly bailed out the Sierra Leone Government and maintained Stevens in power.

#### South Africa

Boaden, B.G. "A Laissez-Fair Approach to the Housing of Urban Blacks." The South African Journal of Economics, March 1980, pp. 28-44.

A well-written article detailing how South Africa's urban housing policy has created a growing backlog of black housing as well as lessening black capital formation and maintaining high levels of black unemployment. Implicit throughout the article is the suggestion that a more open housing policy would create a larger black middle class loyal to the Botha regime.

Brink, Andre. A Dry White Season. New York: Wm. Morrow, 1980, 316 pp.

A well-received novel that focuses upon both the need and the difficulty of South African whites to campaign against apartheid. A seemingly ordinary white school teacher grows outraged at the death--reported as a suicide--of a black friend. As the teacher investigates he encounters white South African stereotypes: the Dutch Reformed Church minister, conniving police investigators, self-serving liberal lawyers, and the mass of white citizens whose moral paralysis is reminiscent of a statement by a former Rhodesian prime minister: "The trouble here is fear of the unknown."

Eaton, Joseph W. "Can Business Save South Africa?" American Universities Field Staff Reports, No. 20 (1980), 20 pp.

Regretfully concludes that business has a limited reformist role in South Africa. The results of the Sullivan Principles have been token and more rigid enforcement of the various codes would aid a fairly small percentage of black South Africans. While acknowledging the limitations of business-induced reform, Eaton hopes that business would press hard on the sixth principle ("Improving the quality of employee's lives outside of work place . . .") since such action would directly challenge apartheid and serve as a precedent for other groups. Yet facing stiff official opposition and lacking adequate enforcement mechanisms, the Sullivan and other codes "are promissory notes without a due date."

Hahn, Lorna. "After Zimbabwe: Changing Strategies in Southern Africa." New Leader, 16 June 1980, pp. 9-10.

An optimistic view of southern Africa's short-run future. Arguing that "Robert Mugabe has injected an unexpected note of realism," Hahn points to recent South African aid and trade to willing black nations. Questionably, Hahn argues that black nations "endorsed economic--and by implication, political--coexistence" and that black states consider South Africa as "a sovereign state whose troubles must be settled internally." Hahn does discuss the November meeting that Mugabe held with his friend, Zulu chief Gatsha Buthelezi. Mugabe praised the often criticized Zulu leader for supporting foreign investments in South Africa and for organizing people in tribal areas along traditional lines and customs. Finally, Hahn believes that Botha's proposed councils of all racial groups could, sometime in the future, establish a new constitution.

Jaster, Robert S. "South Africa's Narrowing Security Options." Adelphi Papers, No. 159, Spring 1980, 51 pp.

Jaster sketches the last 20 years of South African strategic planning, noting that such strategies as the "outward movement" (detente with black Africa) and white-ruled buffer states have failed. South Africa now has several limited choices. The West is unlikely to enter into a defensive alliance with South Africa just as neighboring black states are reluctant to agree to any regional security arrangement. For technological and financial reasons, South Africa can ill-afford a go-it-alone stance.



Recourse to a nuclear deterrent offers only limited military gain while incurring substantial political costs. South Africa will likely continue to work for increased Western and regional cooperation but will rely on a two-pronged strategy of guarding against external incursions while implementing limited domestic reforms to dampen nonwhite hostility.

Niesewand, Peter. A Member of the Club. New York: Dutton, 1979, 185 pp.

Written by a journalist with a substantial background in Southern Africa, the novel deals with a long range reconnaissance unit of the South African Army, and its activities on the Mozambique border. A fairly interesting study of reconnaissance soldiers, A Member of the Club also describes some apparently new personnel sensing devices employed by the South African Defense Force.

Rotberg, Robert. Suffer The Future. Harvard University Press, 1980. Reviewed in the Guardian, 3 August 1980.

"A competent survey of conservative bent, analyzing the political and economic interests at stake in Southern Africa for the West--and most particularly the United States. Not surprisingly, it is being swiftly overtaken by events. . . ."

Roy, W.T. "South Africa and the Indian Ocean." South Africa International, Vol. 10, No. 4 (April 1980), pp. 191-99.

Realpolitik argument about South Africa's strategic importance. Arguing that personal moral feelings should not shape policy ("saints can afford to be pure--statesmen, alas, must be responsible"), Professor Roy believes that the Soviets "unavoidably" will keep a naval presence in the Indian Ocean and that the West will be foolish to ignore South Africa's geographic and mineral importance.

#### Sudan

"The Arab World's Forgotten Crisis." An-Nahar Arab Report & Memo, 7 July 1980, pp. 4-5.

Primary emphasis of this article focuses on the refugee and economic problems presently facing Sudan. The article concludes with a very brief overview of the current Sudanese domestic and international political situations.

"Ethiopia and Sudan in Rapprochement." The Weekly Review (Nairobi), 30 May 1980, pp. 23-24.

After failures in the past, the rapidity with which Sudan and Ethiopia have moved to patch up their differences has surprised both enemies and allies alike. This article details the origins of the conflict, past attempts to end it, reasons for its recent successful resolution, and a brief overview of its long-term effects in north-east Africa.

"On the Brink of a Breakthrough?" Sudanow (Khartoum), April 1980, pp. 10-16.

Until recently, Sudan and Ethiopia were on the verge of direct military confrontation. Patient diplomacy, combined with a need on both sides to improve their relations, resulted in mutual high-level visits. However, "fundamental and thorny issues" still remain to be resolved. This article also contains an interview with Sudanese First Vice President General Abdel Majid Hamid Khalil.

"Sudan: Riled by the Nile." Foreign Report, 21 May 1980, pp. 3-4.

A brief overview of the "touchy" problems involved in tapping the Nile's water resources. Sudan is particularly upset by Egypt's plan to divert some of the Nile's water to Israel--"to irrigate the Negev Desert." Sudan's relations with Ethiopia are also influenced by the "Nile question." (Ethiopia may build dams on the tributaries of the Blue Nile--with Soviet aid.) Saudi Arabia may also be interested in buying Nile water from Sudan.

"Sudan's Gezira Scheme in Trouble." Middle East International, 18 July 1980, pp. 9-10.

"Like many Third World countries, Sudan inherited from its colonial past an economy geared to the needs of the industrialized West. Today, international market forces have simply replaced colonial trade patterns; the economy is still dependent on external demands." The author wonders how long it will be before Sudan and other Third World countries break this pattern and concentrate on their own internal needs.

#### Tanzania

"Tanzania: End of the Dream." Africa Confidential, Vol. 21, No. 15, 16 July 1980, pp. 1-4.

Tanzania is on the brink of bankruptcy and an internal debate is raging as to its cause. Many politicians point to external factors such as world inflation, the Ugandan war, drought, and rising oil prices. But the truth is that the external factors have only exacerbated an already disastrous situation brought about by the Socialist system practiced in Tanzania. Yet the belief in this system is strong and unlikely to waver in the future. This article speculates on the policies that Tanzania might undertake to improve its deteriorating situation.

#### Uganda

Brionne, Bernard. "L'Ouganda et son Environnement (Uganda and its Environment)." Defense Nationale, July 1980, pp. 159-62.

With regard to the unsettled domestic situation of Uganda, the author discusses the important but often neglected point of the great effect that

regional politics involving Ethiopia, the Sudan, and Kenya has always had. The relationship among these nations has been shaky ever since the revolution in Ethiopia, and until it stabilizes-which it shows some hope of doing-the political situation of Uganda is threatened with continued unrest.

"Uganda: The Unending Muddle." Africa Confidential, Vol. 21, No. 15, 16 July 1980, pp. 5-8.

In the face of the chaos that Uganda has suffered since the ouster of Idi Amin, this article attempts to answer a number of key questions. Will there be an election? If it is held, will it be free and fair? Who will win (and who are the likely participants in a government of unity)? Will the Tanzanians leave after an election? Will a professional Ugandan army and police force ever emerge? And, finally will they stay out of politics or feel constantly obliged to take control of Uganda?

#### Upper Volta

"Haute-Volta--80--." Europe Outremer, Nos. 600-1, January-February 1980.

The entire 52 pages of this issue is devoted to Upper Volta.

#### Zaire

"Explaining U.S. Foreign Policy." Africa Index, 26 May 1980, pp. 29-31.

Excerpts from testimony by US Deputy Assistant Secretary Lannon Walker concerning US military and development aid to Zaire before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa. A very favorable picture of Zaire is given.

"Further Rescheduling Needed." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 May-14 June 1980, pp. 5542-43.

Zaire's principal financial backers have advised Zaire that "further rescheduling of the public debt, increased financial help at favorable terms, and substantial balance of payments support" are needed in order to help rehabilitate the country's economy.

"Zaire: Mobutu under fire." Africa Confidential, Vol. 21, No. 14, 2 July 1980, pp. 1-3.

A very pessimistic view of the numerous problems facing the current Zairean regime. Mobutu is described as the "epicentre of le mal zairois." Poor financial planning, student unrest, and international (US and France in particular) concern for Zaire's "poor African image" are discussed in depth. The article also covers Angolan-Zairean relations and their long-term effects on the stability of the Mobutu regime.

Zambia

Dodge, Doris Janse. Agricultural Policy and Performance in Zambia. University of California, 1977, 285 pp. Reviewed in South African Journal of Economics, March 1980, pp. 100-2.

When noting the growing urban-rural economic disparity, Dodge points her finger at governmental policies: a basic urban developmental bias, development of only the more relatively affluent provinces, and an agricultural pricing policy that has worsened the urban-rural terms of trade. Among her suggestions are that the government reform its inefficient agricultural monopolies and that it lessen its emphasis on capital-intensive development.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA  
(Received in September 1980)

Africa General

Arnold, Guy and Ruth Weiss. Strategic Highways of Africa. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977. Reviewed by Kenneth W. Grundy in African Journal, Vol. 10, No. 4, 4 November 1979, pp. 343-44.

This book attempts to describe the evolution of some key transportation networks in Africa. There is a heavy emphasis on southern Africa, including Tanzania and Zaire (about three-quarters of the volume) and on railways, although there is some coverage of navigable waterways and roads.

Authie, Xavier. "Le petrole en Afrique noire." Afrique Contemporaine, No. 110, July-August 1980, pp. 1-9.

Subunits of the article include: "Petroleum Production (general)," "The Gulf of Guinea: Nigeria, Gabon, Angola, Other and Future Producers," "The Chad and Zaire Basins," and "The Impact of High Oil Prices on African Economies." Various charts and maps are also included.

Bissel, Richard E. "Soviet Activity in Africa: Should the West Care?" South Africa International (Republic of South Africa), Vol. 10, No. 4 (April 1980), pp. 199-210.

Soviet Policy in Africa is neither opportunistic, as the deliberate abandonment of Somalia illustrates, nor is it part of some "grand plan" as the Soviets, like other powers, have had to continually compromise their approaches in the face of the unpredictability of African affairs. The author sees, instead, a transitional policy on the part of the USSR that is the result of Moscow changing from an international entity that fostered revolution and disruption for its own sake to a superpower that seeks long term, tangible influence, political and economic, from alliances with stable and viable African regimes.

Copson, Raymond W. and Brenda M. Branaman. "The Horn of Africa and the United States." Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service Issue Brief IB 78019, August 1980, 25 pp.

This recently updated issue brief covers the global and regional considerations facing the American policymakers in the Horn of Africa. Also included is an outline of current legislation relevant to this area and a chronology of major events since July 1974.

Heinzlmeir, Helmut. "Les conflits dans la Corne de l' Afrique (The Conflicts on the Horn of Africa)." Les Armees et La Defense 1980: Annuaire de l' Afrique et du Moyen-Orient, pp. 107-115.

An overview of the various conflicts on the Horn involving Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, and the Sudan, as well as the roles played by the former

colonial nations and the great powers. With all these actors involved, the author feels that tensions should be defused before the conflicts escalate well beyond their boundaries.

Hollick, Julian Crandall. "French intervention in Africa in 1978." World Today, February 1979, pp. 71-80. As reviewed in International Political Science Abstracts, Vol. 30, No. 2, p. 613.

"The outcome of the Angolan civil war seemed to confirm that only France was politically capable of intervening to halt Soviet expansion in Africa. France reassessed its links in Africa and a series of new cooperation agreements was signed. Thus, while the last French colonial presence in Africa was ended when the enclave of Djibouti became independent in 1977, less than 12 months later not only were there more French troops in Africa than at any time since 1960, but they were actively engaged in fighting in Chad, Mauritania and Zaire."

Sinclair, M.R. The Strategic Significance of The Horn of Africa. Pretoria, Republic of South Africa: Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria, 1980. pp. 87.

This is an examination of the overall strategic potential of Ethiopia, Somalia, and Djibouti. After measuring each of the nation's capabilities in specific categories the author attempts to evaluate the significance of the area as a geographic entity.

"Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference Declaration: Towards Economic Liberation." Africa Currents, July-August 1980, pp. 52-56.

The front-line states met in Lusaka in spring of 1980 to plot the "economic liberation and integrated development" of black states in southern Africa. The conference particularly emphasized transportation and communication, establishing a commission in Mozambique to coordinate existing transport and communications facilities.

Thompson, W. Scott. "Les menaces destabilisatrices des grandes puissances: le cas de l'Union soviétique (The Destabilizing Threats of the Great Powers: The Case of the Soviet Union)." Les Armees et La Defense 1980: Annuaire de l'Afrique et du Moyen-Orient, pp. 39-45.

The author stated that the USSR has three goals in the Middle East and Africa. First, the Soviets seek to project their power into the strategic positions of these parts of the world. Secondly, Moscow, through its own non-military efforts or by way of interventionist actions of its client states, attempts to provoke changes, especially in Africa, which they judge to be in their favor. And finally, the USSR is determined to improve its position in the Indian Ocean which will bolster its gains in Africa and the Middle East.

#### Burundi

"Burundi: A soluble dilemma?" Africa Confidential, Vol. 21, No. 18, 3 September 1980, pp. 3-5.

The Tutsi-dominated Bagaza government continues its attempts to forge 'national reconciliation', the catchphrase of the government. No one knows how this will work with the majority Hutu population (85 percent). The article closes with a brief analysis for Burundi-Rwanda relations toward each other and toward the superpowers.

#### Equatorial Guinea

"Liniger-Goumaz, Max. Guinea Ecuatorial, Bibliografia General (Swiss National Committee for UNESCO)." As cited in West Africa, No. 3293, 1 September 1980, p. 1964.

A five-line announcement of Liniger-Goumaz' "fourth volume of bibliography" on Equatorial Guinea.

#### Ethiopia

Pliny the Middle-Aged. "The PMAC: Origins and Structure." (Part One), Ethiopianist Notes, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1978-79), pp. 1-18.

Ethiopia's ruling Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), or Dergue as it is commonly called, is one of the most secretive of ruling bodies. In fact, perhaps the most striking aspect of the PMAC has been the successful secrecy about its membership, origins, method of work, and disputes. This article, written by an author who remains anonymous to protect himself and his sources, is an attempt to provide data about the PMAC, its origins and structure.

#### Ghana

Adam, M. M. "Western press sees only gloom." West Africa, 1 September 1980, pp. 1651-53.

The Western news media is censured for "crisis or negative" reporting on Africa. In particular the BBC is singled out for a "jaundiced" report on Ghana in which Flt Lt Rawlings is exalted while President Limann is presented as a politician who is "awed by the fact that he is President."

Ahiakpor, James C. W. "Facing economic realities in Ghana." West Africa, 8 September 1980, pp. 1700-1.

A critical analysis of the performance of the Ghanaian economy since the restoration of civilian rule in 1979. President Limann's economic policies receive especially negative reviews.

"Ghana: the Justice Apaloo affair." West Africa, 8 September 1980, pp. 1689-93.

A summary of the recent political controversy surrounding the rejection by Parliament of the nominations of Chief Justice Apaloo and Justice Abban for membership on the Supreme Court. Also included is a denial of wrong-

doing by Apaloo and a statement by the People's National Party (PNP), the party in power, rebutting assertions made by the opposition party, the Popular Front Party (PFP), which supports the nominations of the two justices.

Harrell-Bond, Barbara. "Diary of a Revolution 'Which Might Have Been', Part II." American Universities Field Staff Reports, No. 25, 1980, 19 pp.

Recounts events in Ghana immediately after the June 4 coup. Flt Lt Rawlings and the People's Redemption Council (PRC) exhorted the people to carryout a "real" revolution, revolution of the spirit to end corruption and restore national pride. Also discussed are civilian-military relations, the press, and the 1979 political campaign. The author is sympathetic to the goals of the PRC.

#### Liberia

"Doe's policy dilemma." Africa, No. 108, August 1980, pp. 28-29.

Not only has Liberian head of state, Sgt Doe, been rebuffed by other African leaders, trouble is brewing at home. Friction within the military dominated People's Redemption Council (PRC) and between the PRC and the mostly civilian cabinet have combined to create an uncertain future for the stability of the revolution.

Moose, Richard M. "US attitudes to a new Liberia." West Africa, 8 September 1980, pp. 1702-4.

A statement by the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs to a Congressional sub-committee. US concerns for Liberia are: to avoid an economic collapse; to encourage a return to civilian rule; to assure the Liberian Government of US support for its basic security considerations; and to promote the long-term development of the country.

#### Malawi

Financial Mail (Republic of South Africa), 6 June 1980, pp. 1109-11.

Malawi's enigmatic status as the "lost" frontline state in the southern African context, and political changes in the countries (Mozambique and Zimbabwe) bordering her, pose interesting questions for that country's future direction. This article weighs the probable changes that Mugabe's election will bring about in Malawi and the possibility of the People's Liberation Army of Malawi, the armed wing of the Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma) playing a future pivotal role.

#### Mauritania

"Mauritania: Opposition Stirs." Africa Confidential, September 1980, pp. 6 & 7.

Mauritania's President Heydallah's decision to free the slaves (Harratines) is likely to offer opposition groups abroad a unifying issue



and, by alining themselves with the threatened traditional ruling class, opposition elements can gain support for continuing their struggle. The Paris-based umbrella opposition organization, l'Alliance pour une Mauritanie Democratique (AMD) has a nebulous program for a multi-party system in the country and the preservation of "balanced relations with all its neighbors." Financial support comes from Gulf states. The principal tactic of the AMD appears to be to exploit Morrish-Black antagonism inside the country and to discredit the military regime in Arab capitals.

#### Namibia

"Namibia Independence Proposals Chronology: May 1979--February 1980." Africa Currents July-August 1980, pp. 44-48.

Fairly detailed review of recent events.

SWAPO. Department of Information and Publicity. "Namibia: People's resistance, 1670-1970." Race & Class, XXII (1980), pp. 23-46.

Documents Namibian--basically Ovambo--resistance to Portuguese, German, and South African control. The forerunners of SWAPO first gained mass support from the exploited contract labor force. SWAPO turned to armed resistance in 1966 following the inability of the UN and World Court to diminish South African control over Namibia. Although informative, the article rarely touches upon the spillover effect of South African events upon Namibians or the ethnic divisions which have hindered SWAPO's hopes.

#### Nigeria

Iroh, Eddie. "Papering of cracks or first steps to fusion?" Africa, No. 108, August 1980, pp. 49-52.

An analysis of the strains in the political alliance of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP). The discord is partly due to NPP cries for greater participation in the decisionmaking process. More importantly, NPP legislators refused to go along with the NPN proposal of establishing Presidential Liaison Officers (PLOs) in each of the 19 states. A reconciliation was announced in June and there is even talk of fusing the two parties. Most observers do not expect any attempts at union to proceed smoothly.

"Nigeria: A Special Report." The Guardian, 11 August 1980, pp. 13-26.

A tour d'horizon of Nigeria written by various authors. Topics covered include: foreign policy, Anglo-Nigerian affairs, the President, the economy, oil, technology, labor relations, religion, transportation and corruption.

"Nigeria: handling the giant." Africa Confidential, 30 July 1980, p. 1-2.

Assesses Nigerian political affairs since the return to civilian rule in October 1979. "The legislature continues to play the dominant role in Nigerian affairs, and is easily the most powerful legislative body on the

African continent." Since the death of J.S. Tarka, the Tiv tribal group has been without a leader; the article suggests several candidates who might assume a leadership role in the Tiv community.

#### Sierra Leone

"Sierra Leone looks to France." Foreign Report, 23 July 1980, pp. 3-5.

President Steven has been courting France to increase French participation in the Sierra Leonean economy, especially in the diamond industry. Questions the benefits Sierra Leone derived from hosting the OAU Summit. The main beneficiaries of the brief construction boom were wealthy Lebanese merchants. To ensure internal security, President Stevens relies on the "loyal and well armed" State Security Detachment (SSD) which includes some Guineans. A 20-man Presidential bodyguard also is from Guinea. The President keeps a close watch on the army and personally controls its ammunition supplies.

#### Somalia

Africa Confidential, 3 August 1980, pp. 5-6.

Somalia's drastic economic plight--the result, in large part, of that nation's erratic foreign policy--shows no sign of improving despite the recent agreement with the US covering the use of military facilities. This agreement, for instance, has strained relations with Iraq, one of Somalia's most generous aid givers. And Somalia's continuing irredentist claims against Kenya have caused Saudi Arabia, which has tried to mediate this dispute, to question its role in the face of Somalia's intractable stance.

#### South Africa

Committee of 81. "South African 1980 School Boycott Manifesto." Africa Currents, July-August 1980, pp. 49-52.

A major focus of the recent hostilities in South Africa was the Cape school boycott. The Committee of 81 issued an ultimatum for nonracial education. Demands include increased financing, independent student representative councils, and an end to political explosions and intimidation.

Gromyko, Anatoly. Conflict In South Africa International Aspects. Moscow: Mysl Publishers, 1979, 295 pp. Reviewed by A. Dzasokhov in International Affairs, No. 8, 1980, pp. 121-23.

Aligns South Africa with the West and with "China's Maoist leaders who want to use the situation in the south of Africa for their own ends." Without the assistance of the NATO nations and multinational monopolies, South Africa would have long ago surrendered to liberation forces. By supporting South Africa, the West and China "become accomplices in the crimes perpetrated by that regime against the African . . . ." An uncritical review.

Jensen, Holger. "A Nation at Battle Stations." Newsweek, 29 September 1980, pp. 43-44.

Review, with pictures, of South Africa's Defense Force. Notes the massive white mobilization (white children begin military training at the age of 12; 300,000 boys are in cadet training), rigorous training (helicopter pilots are cross-trained in jets), and the nation's growing arsenal (the state-owned ARMSCOR "produces virtually all of the country's military needs" and while it has developed only two indigenous weapons, "the South Africans are good copiers" of such weapons as the Israeli Galil assault rifle and Israel's Gabriel naval missile). Jensen's article also deals with the navy's spectacular Silvermine communications center. Yet, the article concludes, "in the end, survival for white South Africans may depend less on guns than on goodwill."

Salpeter, Eliahu. "The Agony of Reform in South Africa." The New Leader, 28 July 1980, pp. 4-7.

South Africa is passing through rapid, and often overlooked, changes which might ease racial tension and eventually allow for a peaceful resolution. Prime Minister Botha has championed political change ("We must adapt or die") while traditionally conservative Afrikaner are becoming increasingly educated and less fearful of change. Meanwhile, the booming economy is offering increased employment.

"South Africa: Taking Stock." Ground Defence International, March 1980, pp. 10-12.

A flattering review of several indigenous South African combat and counter-insurgency vehicles, along with the argument that South Africa's mineral and geographical positions are vital to the West. Noting present Israeli-South African cooperation, the author contends that "simple moral and pseudo-moral judgments are not enough. The Western powers have to get their hands dirty, have to become directly involved."

Students' Africa Movement (South Africa). "New Strategy in South Africa." Africa Currents, July-August 1980, pp. 37-43.

"The material and political conditions for increasing organized and armed resistance . . . now exist" but are being confronted with a new strategy by the South African Government. The government has constructed such buffer devices as community councils to shield the government from direct criticism. Additionally the white government is offering limited political redress to urban blacks. This limited reform, however, is coming at the expense of the rural blacks and is used by the government to convince the world that the government is abolishing most--or all--of apartheid.

Walker, General Sir Walter. The Bear At The Back Door. England: Foreign Affairs Publishing Co., Ltd.. 246 pp.

Strongly biased presentation of the merits of the white regimes in southern Africa, believing them to be threatened by the Soviet Union. Examines the possible effect of sanctions upon South Africa, the military capability of South Africa, the importance of the Cape route . . . . Often anecdotal but occasionally informative. General Walker is a former NATO Commander-in-Chief for Allied Forces in Northern Europe.

#### Sudan

Frost, Michael. "Sudan: Confidence is high in economic turn-about." Middle East Economic Digest, 18 July 1980, pp. 6-8 & 46.

The Sudanese Government is determined to start an economic recovery, despite continuing problems of labor and commodity shortages and the lack of foreign exchange. Infrastructure schemes are being completed and the discovery of oil may solve the foreign exchange bottleneck. Opportunities for new investment are still limited but there are loopholes--especially for foreign businessmen--which bring good rates of return.

"Moslem Brothers exert their hold on National Assembly." Middle East Newsletter, 11-24 August 1980, pp. 5-6.

The improving economic climate which is promised by the country's oil potential and reflected in the West's new interest in Sudan could all come to nothing if political obstacles rise in the way. The Moslem Brothers in the National Assembly are one potential problem. Large-scale economic and tribal troubles in the Southern Region pose another potential problem.

Wai, Dunstan M. "The Sudan: domestic politics and foreign relations under Nimiery." African Affairs, July 1979, pp. 297-317. As reviewed in International Political Science Abstracts, Vol. 30, No. 2, p. 722.

"By eschewing ideological commitments, the regime has kept aid flowing from diverse sources. However, the interplay of political forces on the domestic level has hindered progress toward achievement of a relevant development ideology. In the early years of the regime, dependence upon some member of the Sudan Communist Party and persons of the leftist ideological orientation affected policy. The Sudan has not played as active a role in African affairs as it has on Arab issues."

#### Tanzania

Mwansasu, Bismarck U. and Cranford Pratt, Eds. Towards Socialism in Tanzania. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, 1979, pp. x, 243. Reviewed by Frank Holmquist in The American Political Science Review, June 1980, pp. 562-63.

This book is a collection of essays stemming from a 1976 Toronto conference devoted to the subject of Tanzania's transition to socialism. It includes an introduction and essays representing both favorable and critical opinions as to the nature and success of Tanzania's political and economic departure. Taken as a whole, the reviewer found them to be provocative and insightful reading.

## Uganda

Africa Research Bulletin, 1-30 June 1980, pp. 5699-5700.

The military takeover in Uganda has strengthened the cooperation and alliance between Kenya and Sudan that was brought about by Tanzania's invasion of Uganda and the ouster of Amin. The issue of Uganda has polarized East Africa into two camps, and the only hope that the problem can be resolved hinges on the complete withdrawal of Tanzanian troops and the release of former President Binaisa.

Karugire, P. A Political History of Uganda. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1980. Reviewed by Nene Mburu in Africa, August 1980, pp. 68-69.

This book's focus is divided in three as it deals with the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods in Uganda's history. The reviewer felt that the coverage of the pre-colonial period was competent, and that the author's grasp of the colonial segment--the time when the country began to coalesce--was very good. The only major problem the reviewer had with this book was the relative dearth of current political history, which he admitted, though, was still based on opinions rather than facts.

## Zaire

"Zaire: Creaking on." Africa Confidential, Vol. 21, No. 18, 3 September 1980, pp. 2-3.

Despite Zaire's financial and domestic troubles, there is little evidence of a coherent opposition inside Zaire, although exile movements in Belgium are trying to forge some unity.

## Zimbabwe

Cross, Eddie. "New Trading Horizons" Commerce (Zimbabwe), May 1980, pp. 17-20.

Zimbabwe must make up for lost time: during U.D.I. Western nations built trading links with the front line states. Yet Zimbabwe should benefit from lower transport costs and a desire among the frontline states to lessen their economic dependence on South Africa.

Davis, John, "Oil: The Cost To Zimbabwe." Commerce (Zimbabwe), May 1980, pp. 9-11.

Rising oil prices and the world recession have tightened international capital markets while stripping nearby less developed countries of foreign exchange to purchase Zimbabwean products. However, because of international sanctions, Zimbabwe is currently underborrowed to international lending agencies and therefore should fare better than most LDC's.

Gordon, George. "Operation Assassination." Soldier Of Fortune, October 1980, pp. 30-32.

Reprinted from the London Daily Mail, this article chronicles the Rhodesian Special Air Services attempt to kill Joshua Nkomo in his Lusaka home.

Raeburn, Michael. We Are Everywhere. New York: Random House, 1979, 209 pp. (Original title: Black Fire.)

Based on interviews with Rhodesian guerrillas, each chapter deals with a small guerrilla band ("The Crocodile Gang") and chronologically traces the movement's search for tactics and strategy. Somewhat awkwardly written because of stilted dialogue and Raeburn's ideological bent, the book is still worthwhile, especially when tracing the sometimes divisive effect of foreign ideologies upon the guerrillas and when explaining how the guerrillas used history and spirit mediums to support their Chimurenga ("armed struggle"). Introduction by James Baldwin and Afterword by A.R. Wilkinson.

Rhodesian Leader's Guide. Advertised in Soldier Of Fortune. September 1980, p. 75.

"The famed Rhodesian Selous Scouts rely on this handbook . . . .  
Logistical planning instructions cover patrols, base camp attacks . .  
. . . Technical information covers radio equipment and antennas,  
grenades . . . weapons specs."

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA  
(Received in October 1980)

Africa General

Boulares, Habib, ed. "La Francophone Au Pluriel (French in Many Forms)." Jeune Afrique, No. 1030, 1 October 1980, pp. 51-57.

While lamenting the dominance of English and the decline of French on the international scene, the series of articles still manages to present the dynamic force of French, especially in the Third World. Africa contains the majority of French-speakers in the world, and it is here that language and culture have taken on a new dynamism. The role of language in culture and nationalism and its importance are underscored.

Cottrell, Alvin J., and Hahn, Walter F. Soviet Shadow over Africa. Coral Gables: University of Miami, 1977. Reviewed by W.A.E. Skurnik in Africana Journal, Vol. X, No. 4, 1980, p. 345.

A globalist view which believes that the Soviet activities in southern Africa must be seen not as regional and isolated incidents but in the broader context of Russian expansion. The book examines the Soviet "drive" into southern Africa and surveys the area's sea lanes and land transportation links. Skurnik concludes, "this reviewer's impression is that gloom is premature, but also that Western vigilance is in order."

Franke, Richard W., and Chasin, Barbara H. Seeds of Famine, Ecological Destruction and the Development Dilemma in the West African Sahel. Montclair, N.J.: Allanheld, Osumni & Co., 1980.

One of the many studies on the Sahel drought of 1968-74, this study goes beyond description and assigns causes. In tracing the history of the severe drought, French political and ecological policy are blamed as responsible for the intensity of the disaster.

Nicolas, Guy. "Societes Africaines, Monde Arabe et Culture Islamique (African Societies, the Arab World and Islamic Culture)." Revue d'Etudes Politiques et Economiques Africaines, No. 172-73, April-May 1980, pp. 47-64.

This article, one of several on the same subject by Mr. Nicolas, examines the complexities of African Muslim culture, its relations to the divisions in the Arab world, and its accommodations to modern occidental culture. Simplistic arguments are rejected, and generalizations prove unsatisfactory. Islamization is viewed as a dynamic process whereby conservative and modernizing currents interact.

Rondos, Alex. "CEAO trade patterns." West Africa, No. 3295, 15 September 1980, pp. 1749-50.

One in a series of several articles on Francophone West Africa, this article deals specifically with the Communaute Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (The West African Economic Community), exclusively tied to France by a common colonial experience and a common currency. Rondos discusses how the organization serves to maintain preindependence trading patterns and dependence on France.

Uwechue, Ralph. "Southern Africa's New Era." World Press Review, June 1980, pp. 29-31.

Interview with Uwechue in which he speculates that South Africa will resolve its problems through violence ("The so-called moderates will pace their moves only in relation to the extreme Right . . .").

"West Germany and West Africa--A Special Report." West Africa, 6 October 1980, pp. 1959-69.

Several aspects of the relationship between the Federal Republic of Germany and West Africa are examined, the most notable of which is an article on economic relations.

#### Angola

Marcum, John A. The Angolan Revolution: Vol. 2, Exile Politics and Guerrilla Warfare (1962-1976). Cambridge: MIT, 1978, 473 pp. Reviewed by Herbert F. Weiss in The American Political Science Review, June 1980, pp. 592-93.

"One of the finest contributions to the literature on African nationalism," emphasizing political elites and interparty relations. Weiss believes, however, that Marcum should have offered much more analysis of mass mobilization by the three parties.

#### Benin

"Benin prospects." West Africa, 22 September 1980, pp. 1817-18.

Discusses conditions in Benin through an examination of the agricultural sector. A Beninese ministerial report states that many of the problems in this sector can be traced to insufficient extension services to the peasants, stealing from cooperatives, and an excessive bureaucracy.

#### Botswana

"The Khama years and beyond." Africa, September 1980, pp. 39-43.

Reviews Botswana's stability and increasing prosperity despite the effects of the Rhodesian war. Takes note of several possible problems: huge wage differentials between black and white mining personnel, the recent death of President Seretse Khama, and the location of South Africa on her borders. Includes an unctuous biography of Khama's successor, Quett Masire.

#### Chad

Lanne, Bernard. "Nord et Sud dans la vie politique du Tchad (1946-1979) (North and South in the Political Life of Chad (1946-1979))." Revue d'Etudes



Politiques et Economiques Africaines, No. 172-173, April-May 1980, pp. 104-117.

Analyses which emphasize the religious character of the Chadian civil war are viewed as simplistic in an article which stresses instead the ethnic and geographical dimensions of the conflict.

#### Equatorial Guinea

Gilroy, Tom. "Equatorial Guinea--monetary problem hampers change." Africa Economic Development, 5 September 1980, pp. 3-4.

The 11-year rule of Macias N'Guema made Equatorial Guinea one of the poorest countries in Africa. One year after his overthrow oil companies are showing new interest and the government is welcoming international aid, shunned by the former dictator. But despite a government decision to devalue its currency, it is still worthless outside the country. This problem is the single largest obstacle to development efforts in Equatorial Guinea today.

#### Ghana

Bentsi-Enchill, Nii K. "President Limann's first year." West Africa, 22 September 1980, p. 1809.

An assessment of civilian rule in Ghana since Flt Lt Rawlings transferred power to the victors of the 1979 elections. For the first half of the year, the People's National Party (PNP) administration considered the military to be the major threat to stability. It feels this threat has been neutralized by the retirements of Rawlings and Brigadiers Nunoo-Mensah and Quainoo. Now the greatest danger is perceived to be the slumping economy.

Essilfie-Conduah, Nana. "Catalogue of unfinished business facing Limann." West Africa, 6 October 1980, pp. 1954-57.

An analysis of Ghanaian President Limann's first year in office which discusses the "Apaloo affair," salary scales for members of parliament, and governmental subsidizing of the news media.

Sutton-Jones, Stuart. "Security and insecurity in Ghana." West Africa, 13 October 1980, pp. 2009-10.

A critical assessment of Hilla Limann's presidency which focuses on his mismanagement of the economy, inability to deal with striking laborers, and confrontation with the judiciary. Flt Lt Rawlings is favorably portrayed as are the Tsikatas, his supposed ideological mentors. The author concludes that "the industrial sector and the urban unemployed . . . may pose a greater threat to the future stability of Ghana than the military."

### Ivory Coast

Rondos, Alex. "Shake up for stability?" West Africa, 13 October 1980, pp. 2001-03.

An assessment of the October 1980 Ivory Coast Democratic Party (PDCI) Congress. Politically, the results seem to indicate that the youth wing of the party gained in influence at the expense of the "old guard." The post of party secretary, held by P. Yace, was abolished. Emphasis was placed on maintaining stability during this period of broadening political participation. With regard to succession, President Houphouet-Boigny stated that he will leave that matter to a "team" of people, and that he will not concern himself with it.

### Kenya

Campbell, David J., and Axinn, George H. "Pastoralism in Kenya." American University Field Service Reports, 1980, No. 3.

Pastoralists and modern high-energy technology are in confrontation in Kenya. Tension is predictable but the desirable outcome is less obvious. Given the pastoralists' fragile semiarid environment, the future of human habitation may be more appropriately tied to their style of life.

### Liberia

"Counter coup plots." Africa, No. 109, September 1980, pp. 23-24.

Reports on the trials of the alleged participants in a counter coup in Liberia. Also discussed are the current labor unrest and the progress being made by the "free education" program of the People's Revolutionary Council (PRC).

### Mali

Jay, Anne-Marie, and Garcia, Andree. "Le Bassin De Segou (The River Floodplain of Segou)." Freres d'Armes, No. 105, July-August 1980, pp. 4-8.

In light travelogue form, the uniqueness of the Niger River floodplain at Segou, a region contrasting greatly from the Sahara Desert which borders it, is described.

Rondos, Alex. "Mali's Economic Gloom." West Africa, No. 3292, 25 August 1980, pp. 1592-93.

The bleak picture painted by economic conditions in Mali are assessed and discussed. The weakness of the present Malian Government under its present military leadership and its inability to act is considered by Rondos to contribute greatly to Mali's economic problems.

### Mauritius

"Mauritius--UK Diego Garcia Dispute." Africa Research Bulletin, 1-31 July 1980, pp. 5754-55.

Soviet-American interest and confrontation in the Indian Ocean are at the heart of complaints by Mauritius that it was tricked into selling Diego Garcia. Demands that Diego Garcia be returned to Mauritius and that the Indian Ocean be turned into a zone of peace receive little sympathy in this article.

### Namibia

Pfouts, Anita. "UN Hearings Target Uranium Mining." Southern Africa, September-October 1980, pp. 20-21.

By the mid-1980s world demand for uranium will begin to exceed supply. Cognizant of this, the five western industrialized nations responsible for securing Namibian independence from South Africa will defer to their own economic needs rather than to the political rights of the Namibian people.

### Nigeria

"First attempt to change constitution." West Africa, 29 September 1980, pp. 1903-05.

Details the proposed amendment to the Nigerian Constitution which would change the composition of the National Economic Council (NEC), an advisory group to the president on matters of the economy. The proposal calls for the dropping of the vice president and state governors as members of the NEC and replacing them with skilled economists. Opponents of the amendment claim that the legislators are merely reacting negatively to an earlier ruling of the NEC which recommended a cut in pay and allowances for federal and state officials.

Haruna, Mohammed. "Trying times for President Shagari." West Africa, 22 September 1980, pp. 1815, 1817.

Discusses the current situation in the Nigerian National Assembly in which legislators are voting according to their consciences rather than along party lines. Other issues troubling the President include: unfavorable judicial rulings against executive actions, the antagonistic response to a revenue allocation report, and trade union demands to increase the minimum wage.

Okoli, Eukora Joe. "Unity and progress in Nigeria." West Africa, 13 October 1980, pp. 2016-17.

A commentary on President Shagari's broadcast on Nigeria's 20th Independence Anniversary. Among issues discussed are Nigerian foreign policy which,

Shagari insists, must be backed up by "a well-equipped and highly-disciplined defense force capable of defending (Nigeria's) territorial integrity." The prospect of attempting to acquire a nuclear capability to counteract a perceived threat from South Africa is raised.

"Twenty Years After Independence." West Africa, 29 September 1980, pp. 1877-94.

A series of articles written by several authors commemorating two decades of independent rule in Nigeria. David Williams recalls the independence celebrations of 1960 and discusses the efforts of the military government toward the restoration of civilian rule. Martin Dent examines the constitution in the context of political developments over the past year. Nigeria's development as an oil exporting power is detailed by Martin Quinlan, and Alex Rondos addresses Nigeria's foreign policy within West Africa.

"Wrestling with the Multinationals." Africa News, 1 September 1980, pp. 2, 9, 10.

Reviews the state investigations of the Nigerian National Petroleum Company (NNPC) and several large foreign oil firms. Nigeria is increasing its efforts to attract US investment by liberalizing restrictions on the repatriation of profits, and the "indigenization decree" of the military regime is under reconsideration. The Washington Post's accusations against Chief M.K.O. Abiola and ITT are summarized.

#### Senegal

Bessis, Sophie. "M'Bow ou le Pouvoir a l'Africaine (M'Bow or Power the African Way)." Jeune Afrique, No. 1030, 1 October 1980, pp. 26-31.

Homage is paid directly to Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow and by extension to all of Africa on his recent unanimous mandate to head UNESCO for a second term. Mr. M'Bow's intellectual and administrative skills are highly praised in light of prejudices against Third World personalities in positions of world authority. UNESCO's direction and difficulties also receive notice as projections for the future.

Dia, Mam Less. "Une Stabilité Presque Assurée (Stability Nearly Assured)." Jeune Afrique, No. 1025, 27 August 1980, pp. 12-13.

This optimistic appraisal of the probable succession of the Number 2 man in Senegal, Mr. Abdou Diouf, by the director of the major party publication, Politicien, presents a slanted, but possibly correct, assessment of the Senegalese political situation today. Diouf's success in obtaining a larger than sought loan from France on his own which forestalls or postpones difficulties and the fragmented opposition nearly assures an orderly change of leadership in the view of the author.

"Senegal." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 June-14 July 1980, pp. 5581-83.

A timely assessment of Senegal's economic picture, the article presents statistics and an analysis of a beleaguered economy. Faced with the recurrence of drought, Senegal faces serious shortages. In spite of increases in

industrial production, overall receipts showed little change over 1978. Projected mining and petroleum production holds promise for the future.

Senghor, Leopold Sedar. "Securite et Defense Collective (Security and Collective Defense)." Revue Africaine de Strategie, No. 5, January, February, March 1980, pp. 6-9.

In an interview, Senghor reiterates his stand that Africa needs a collective security force. He strongly states that the communist nations with nearly 60,000 Cubans, Soviets and East Germans in Africa, and not the West pose the greatest threat to peace and security on the African continent.

#### South Africa

Bureau for Economic Research re Bantu Development, Bophuthatswana at Independence. Babelagi: Craft, 1978, 133 pp.

Essentially a handbook of the Tswana homeland granted nominal independence by South Africa. Uncritical, this review touches lightly on physical infrastructure, political system, defense, mining, and recreation.

Fisher, Roger. "South Africa: Problems and Choices." Politikon, June 1980, pp. 1-13.

A well-known teacher of conflict resolution, Professor Fisher suggests that white South Africans need to consult with all groups on an equal basis. Using a flow diagram and charts, Fisher argues that the process of resolution often contributes to the results achieved. Placing his model in the context of South Africa's internal and foreign relations, Fisher states that understanding the other party's present perceptions is necessary before any successful political change.

Joos, Gerhard. "The South African Air Force: Unloved Partner of NATO." Flug Revue, 9 September 1980, pp. 28-33.

Overview of South African Air Force planes and training accompanied by a history of the air force and a lengthy example of a search and rescue mission. Excellent color photographs.

Kotze, D. J. Communism and South Africa. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1979, 204 pp.

Definitely misnamed, since most of its chapters do not deal with South Africa but with an examination of communist theory. Notes obvious reasons for communist interest in South Africa and believes that communism can be combatted largely through public relations and a strong military.

Marx, Andrew. "Black Consciousness Groups Meet." Southern Africa, September-October 1980, pp. 13-15.

Two of South Africa's major liberation movements, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, continue to face the problems of protecting internal leadership and preserving the links between an exiled leadership and its mass of supporters. Marx suggests that increased repression has often unified, rather than divided, the two organizations.

Myers, Desaix. U.S. Business In South Africa. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 375 pp.

Excellent study of the various economic, technological, and political effects of foreign capital upon South Africa. Examines South Africa's apartheid structure, black and coloured attitudes towards foreign investment, and whether investment strengthens apartheid or creates liberalizing influences. Includes important case studies of foreign investment (oil, computer and electronics, minerals, and automotive).

North, James. "The Euphemizers." The New Republic, 4 October 1980, pp. 20-22.

Amusing and informative analysis of how the South African Government continually introduces new words as packaging for traditional practices of apartheid (referring to a former Prime Minister who boasted that he stood on the neck of the blacks, North contends that the present Prime Minister "is still standing there, thumbing through his thesaurus").

Stultz, Newell M. Transkei's Half Loaf: Race Separatism in South Africa. New Haven: Yale, 1979, 183 pp. Reviewed by Crawford Young in The American Political Science Review, June 1980, pp. 574-75.

A "slim and succinct volume" which offers the first major appraisal of independent Transkei. Stultz and Young agree that the newly created state structures will provide an important training and institutional base for future black leaders. Stultz maintains that the Xhosa elite in Transkei benefit from independence and that the urban Xhosas outside of Transkei are the major losers while the peasants within Transkei's borders are largely unaffected.

US Embassy (Pretoria). "Blueprint for the Future." Backgrounder #6. September 1979, Washington, D.C., 8 pp.

Realistic labor laws have "brought South Africa many years of industrial peace." Despite such questionable assertions, the report does provide some useful analysis of the first sections of the controversial Wiehahn and Rikert reports on labor conditions.

US Embassy (Pretoria). "Plain Facts On Minerals." Backgrounder #5. Washington D.C., 1979, 6 pp.

Examines South Africa's role in world mineral reserves and exports and why the United States should exercise "resource diplomacy." Suggests that the US does not appreciate South Africa's importance ("South Africa is more important to the survival of the USA than the USA is to South Africa") while disputing the claim that the West will always have access to the minerals, no matter which government is in power.

### Sudan

Aköl, Jacob. "The South: Security at Risk." Sudanow (Khartoum), July 1980, pp. 9-11.

Tribal and intertribal disputes in the Southern Region have increased over the last year by an alarming proportion. At the bottom of it lies not only one of the severest droughts in the history of the Region, but also an unprecedented illegal trade in firearms precipitated by the discovery of more gold in the Kapoeta District. There are increasing doubts that the central government can make its presence felt in many parts of the Region.

"Interview: Mr. Peter Gatkuoth: New Ways of Killing." Sudanow (Khartoum), July 1980, pp. 12-13.

Mr. Gatkuoth is currently the Vice-President and Regional Minister of Finance and Economic Planning for the Southern Region in Sudan. He had served previously as Acting President of the Southern Region when Joseph Lagu was prevailed upon to step down from office. In this interview, Mr. Gatkuoth discusses the problems facing "law and order" in the South.

Woldegabriel, Berhane, and Phillips, Jeff. "Oil in Sudan? Too Soon to Say." Sudanow (Khartoum), July 1980, pp. 27-31.

Essentially, it is too early to say if Sudan has large quantities of oil. This article includes a 3-page interview with Sudanese Energy Minister Dr. Sherif el Tuhami. Tuhami discusses policy considerations for Sudan, and elaborates on his self-sufficiency within 3 years goal.

### Tanzania

Mabele, Robert B., et al. "The Economic Development of Tanzania." Scientific American, September 1980, pp. 182-90.

Tanzania is attempting to bridge 10,000 years in a lifetime without surrendering its traditional cooperative value of "ujamaa," a Swahili word indicating a society of the extended family. The country's long-term goal is industrial and agricultural self-sufficiency, but the foreign technology necessary for this dream must be purchased from the industrialized countries at disadvantageous terms. Mining of iron, coal, nickel and phosphates ought to move to the center of the national economy.

"Tanzania: the Development Debate." Africa News, 15 September 1980, pp. 6-11.

This article focuses on the debate between Xan Smiley, editor of Africa Confidential, and the Tanzanian Government. Smiley argues that Tanzania's experiment with socialism has been a failure. Dar es Salaam responds that the country's woes are representative of the "statistical poverty" of Tanzania and are not the result of a socialist system. Indeed, they point out that in good years, Tanzania is able to export grain for lack of storage facilities. They assert that socialism has begun to show benefits to the country's standard of living.

### Togo

"Togo: Eyadema's friends." Africa Confidential, 17 September 1980, pp. 6-7.

Comments on Togo's attempts to counteract reports unfavorable to President Eyadema which have appeared in the international press. Although seldom vocalized, there is discontent with the President within Togo, particularly among the lowly-paid and unemployed. Development projects of questionable value, ethnic favoritism, and nepotism are the most frequent accusations made against the government.

### Zaire

"Target One: Zaire." Africa Confidential, 1 October 1980, pp. 3-4.

According to intelligence sources in Paris, the Russians are now ready to encourage urban guerrilla warfare in Zaire. The operation will be launched from neighboring Congo-Brazzaville and may begin before the end of the year.

"Zaire: Issue Persists: Massacre reports fuel dissent." The Weekly Review (Nairobi), 29 February 1980, pp. 15-16.

This very brief article details efforts by the Paris-based International Human Rights Federation (IFHR) to investigate reports of a massacre of 215 young people in Jul 80 at Kasai.

### Zambia

Anglin, Douglas G., and Shaw, Timothy M. Zambia's Foreign Policy: Studies in Diplomacy and Dependence. Boulder: Westview Press, 1979, 453 pp. Reviewed by Richard Bissell in Africana Journal, Vol. X, No. 4, 1979.

A thoughtful review which contends that Shaw and Anglin attribute too much authority to established structures and not enough to the charismatic Kenneth Kaunda. Yet the book does offer a "comprehensive treatment of Zambian options in the face of specific challenges," most notably with a chapter on Zambian policy toward the Angolan civil war.

### Zimbabwe

Cliffe, Lionel. "The Zimbabwe Elections." Review of African Political Economy, May-December 1979 (printed July 1980), pp. 124-30.

An observer during the last election, Cliffe notes the "dirty tricks" initiated by the government and worries that most of the perpetrators have retained influential positions. Yet such actions as having soldiers impersonate anti-Christian guerrillas failed in part because of an already existing clandestine political network. Cliffe singles out the original and significant role of children--mujibas--who linked isolated villages to the Patriotic Front. While Cliffe worries that the Mugabe government may come under the sway of international capital (and South Africa), he suggests that the politicized rural areas will serve as a radical redress.



Fleshman, Michael. "Zimbabwe: Five Months After Independence." Southern Africa, September-October 1980, pp. 7-8.

A guardedly optimistic view of Zimbabwe that believes that the Western press has exaggerated Mugabe's problems, notably the Tekere murder case. Yet the article does acknowledge the serious problems of land redistribution, lack of substantial international aid, and the difficulty of military integration.

Kinloch, Graham. Racial Conflict in Rhodesia. Washington: University Press of America, 1978, 321 pp. Reviewed by Elaine Windrich in Africana Journal, Vol. X, No. 4, 1979, pp. 333-34.

A demolishing review of a book which is weighted down with "sociological jargon and convoluted sentence structure" and which has interpretations "bear[ing] no relationship to the realities of the situation." Cites black parliamentarians as the source of black opposition to the Rhodesian Front and defines the Patriotic Front as "terrorists."

Moore, Robin. Major Mike. Westport: Condor, 1978, 372 pp.

Deals with Major Mike Williams' service with Rhodesia's Grey's Scouts. Williams was an early veteran of America's Special Forces who, in the mid-1970s, enlisted in the Greys, a counterinsurgency mounted cavalry unit. Although self-serving and sometimes tedious, Major Mike does offer some information about Rhodesian operations and personalities.

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Africa General

Accoce, Pierre. "Afrique: la brigade anti-epidemie (Africa: the anti-epidemic brigade)." L'Express, No. 1525, 4 October 1980, pp 66-68.

Homage is paid to the "school of Pharo", (a medical school in Marseilles), the training ground for French physicians battling tropical diseases. Africa has become the center of its efforts as diseases once considered under control have resurged. The history of the "school of Pharo" is also a history of tropical medicine in Africa.

Gromyko, An., ed. Afrika v 70-80e: Stanovleniye natsionnoy ekonomiki i strategiya razvitiye (Africa in the Years 1970-80: Formation of National Economies and Strategic Development). Moscow: Nauka (Science) Publishers, 1980, 325 pp.

This book is a Soviet overview of the economic development struggles that have been faced by African nations during the past decade. Given special treatment are the problems of political development and the attempts to become economically independent from the West.

Mazrui, Ali A. "Marxist Theories, Socialist Policies and African Realities." Problems of Communism, September/October 1980, pp. 44-53.

A well-integrated and perceptive review of a number of books including Edmund Clark's Socialist Development and Public Investment in Tanzania (1977), Marina and David Ottaway's Ethiopia: Empire in Revolution (1978), Okwidiba Nnoli's Self-Reliance and Foreign Policy in Tanzania: The Dynamics of a New State, 1961-1971 (1978), Issa Shivji's Class Struggle in Tanzania (1976), and Mahmood Mamdani's Politics and Class Formation in Uganda (1976).

Rothenburg, Morris. The USSR and Africa: New Dimensions of Soviet Global Power. Washington, D. C.: Advanced International Studies Institute, 1980, 280 pp. Reviewed by Hugh Winkler in the Air Force Magazine, October 1980, p. 71.

"The author details the presence of the Soviets in Africa over the last decade, suggesting that the Soviets see Africa not only as one aspect of their global push for hegemony, but also as the latest and most promising arena for reducing Western and enhancing Soviet influence."

"Social Sciences Today" Editorial Board (USSR Academy of Sciences). Present-Day Development of Africa. Moscow: Social Sciences Today, 1980, 221 pp.

A collection of articles dealing with national liberation movements and revolutionary democrats' efforts to rid the African continent of imperialism and racism.

#### BOTSWANA

Arnold, Guy. "The Khama Years and the Future." Africa Report, November-December 1980, pp. 4-7.

Notes the economic and political success of the Khama regime: per capita income quadrupled in the first 10 years of independence while President Khama maintained a democratic system in the midst of deteriorating stability amongst his neighbors. Yet Khama has passed on several problems to his successor, Quett Masire. In the 1980's, Botswana will continue to suffer from shortages of water, petroleum and skilled local manpower, as well as from growing political pressure from South Africa.

#### BURUNDI

Lavrencic, Karl. "Transport Crisis for Totally Landlocked Economies." African Business, No. 19, March 1980, pp. 25-26.

Burundi and Rwanda suffer from similar problems: critical fuel shortages, poor transportation and communication connections, overpopulation, limited agricultural production, etc. The article concludes with an overview of recent positive advances in these areas.

#### CAMEROON

Stark, Frank M. "Persuasion and Power in Cameroon." Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1980), pp. 273-93.

A brief analysis of political rhetoric in Cameroon in which three issues are examined: the setting and content of the rhetoric; the relationship between symbols and policies; and the shaping of political reality.

#### CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

"Central African Republic: French Lifeline for Dacko." Africa News, 22 September 1980, pp. 9-11.

One year after the fall of the Bokassa regime, President Dacko has successfully "forestalled the expected battle" for the CAR and nullified much of the internal opposition while he continues to consolidate power. The key factor in the new government's efforts continues to be solid French economic and military backing.

#### CONGO

Maiega, Mohamed. "Le Message de Brazzaville (The Message from Brazzaville)." Jeune Afrique, No. 1030, 1 October 1980, pp. 9-16.

A Madison Avenue-like promotion for Brazzaville's centennial celebration in October 1980. The article contains a rather detailed history of developments in Brazzaville, including an abundance of statistics and photographs. Particular attention is paid to rapid changes over the past 20 years.

#### ETHIOPIA

Sherman, Richard F. "Marxism on the Horn of Africa." Problems of Communism, September/October 1980, pp. 61-64.

An integrated review of two books by Legum and Lee entitled Conflict in the Horn of Africa (1977) and The Horn of Africa in Continuing Crisis (1979), Farer's revised edition of War Clouds on the Horn of Africa (1979), Class and Revolution in Ethiopia (1978) by Markakis and Ayele, and Vivo's Ethiopia's Revolution (1978).

#### GABON

"Un commando de l'air in Gabon (An Air Commando in Gabon)." TAM (Terre Air Mer/Ground Air Sea), 11 September 1980, p. 7.

A brief article containing details of the joint Franco-Gabonese maneuver "Franceville 80" which took place in Gabon last summer. Particular attention is paid to the French elements of the exercise. The article concludes with excerpts from a journal kept by an NCO who was attached to the ground forces.

#### GAMBIA

"Gambia weathers the storm." Africa, No. 110, October 1980, pp. 39, 41.

Despite the failure of the drought-ravaged groundnut crop and a slackening of the tourist industry in fiscal year 1979-80, Gambia managed to reduce inflation for the fourth consecutive year. Its inflation rate is the lowest in West Africa and one of the lowest in the world. Due to a stable political system, Gambia is able to attract international aid to finance its development projects.

#### GHANA

"Battling with teething problems." Africa, No. 110, October 1980, pp. 22-24.

A brief summary of the recent criticism of the ruling People's National Party (PNP), its alleged attempt to control the press, and its efforts to oust Justice Apaloo from the Supreme Court.

"Ghana: Gloom." Africa Confidential, 1 October 1980, pp. 3-5.

The political situation in Ghana is described, including the internecine dispute with President Limann's People National Party (PNP), the rash of strikes, the PNP attempt to remove Justice Apaloo from the Supreme Court, Limann's pressure on the national press, and the harassment of Flt Lt Rawlings and his colleagues.

#### NIGER

Modiano, Philip, "Niger-aiming for self-sufficiency in food." Africa Economic Digest, Vol. 1, No. 15, 22 August 1980, pp. 3-4.

The effects of the disastrous drought of the early 1970s have not been completely erased in Niger but, due to modest and careful planning, Niger seems on the road to food self-sufficiency by next year. This year's crop suffered from a return of drought conditions, but only a 10 percent drop from last year's production will mean that even this year the country will nearly meet its food needs.

#### NIGERIA

Fadugba, Nick. "Shagari lays it on the line." Africa, No. 111, November 1980, pp. 30-32.

Nigerian President Shagari's trip to the United States in October was intended first to improve US-Nigerian relations, and second to highlight the extent of Western involvement in South Africa. He called for the UN to launch a "decade of reparation and restitution for Africa" and urged increased pressure on the white government in South Africa.

"Governor Rimi and PRP crisis." West Africa, 20 October 1980, pp. 2053, 2055.

A summary of an interview with People's Redemption Party (PRP) Governor Rimi of Kano State. Rimi faults PRP leader Aminu Kano and National Secretary Sam Ikoku for violating the PRP constitution, denies that there is a split in the PRP, but admits to a "disagreement." Unlike Aminu Kano and Ikoku, Rimi opposes any ties with the ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN).

Iroh, Eddie. "12 months of the Second Republic." Africa, No. 110, October 1980, pp. 18-23.

A general survey of the first year of civilian rule under President Shagari. The "herculean" task of development is discussed along with Nigeria's poli-

tical "teething" problems, in which the executive, legislative, and judicial branches are all exploring the limits of their respective domains.

"Nigeria's future hangs in the balance." To the Point, 7 November 1980, pp. 14-15

A predictably gloomy assessment of the problems facing Nigeria over the next 25 years. Nigeria is portrayed as a bumbling giant whose time is running out; it will take a "superhuman effort" for the government and people to "put their country on the road to economic and political stability."

Okoli, Enuhora Joe. "Standing one step behind Shagari." West Africa, 27 October 1980, pp. 2101-3.

Essentially an interview with Nigerian Vice President Alex Ekwueme in which he explains his official duties and relates the achievements of the National Party of Nigeria's first year in power. As a former architect and town planner, he decries the lack of "forward planning" in the state corporations and vows to change it.

#### SENEGAL

"Senegal's Tensions with The Gambia." West Africa, No. 3304, 17 November 1980, pp. 2278-80.

Recent events which led to the "invitation" of Senegalese troops to Gambia are viewed in light of tensions inherited from the colonial partition. While Qaddafi and Libya serve as the official pretext, tensions in existence since the two countries gained independence may figure in the intervention of Senegal.

#### SIERRA LEONE

"Rumors of election." Africa, No. 110, October 1980, pp. 41, 43.

There is talk in Sierra Leone of the possibility of a sooner-than-expected general election. Both the 1973 and 1977 election were marred by irregularities and political violence. The reasons advanced for the speculation about new elections are that President Stevens wishes to silence critics who claim that his one-party state is turning into a dictatorship, and that there is a common desire among the Sierra Leonean electorate to rid parliament of "inefficiency and corruption."

"Unexpected Opposition." Africa News, 20 October 1980, pp. 7-8.

Briefly discusses the National Alliance Party (NAP), a Sierra Leonean opposition exile group which angered President Stevens by demonstrating during his visit to New York to address the United Nations. The NAP claims 300 members living in the US and much sympathy from other Sierra Leoneans who are afraid to support the movement openly.

## SOUTH AFRICA

Adelman, Kenneth. "The Club of Pariahs." Africa Report, November-December 1980, pp. 8-11.

Plays down the power of the informal alliance existing between Israel, South Africa, South Korea, and Taiwan. Notes that this "Gang of Four" lacks a common race or culture as well as a common enemy or territorial interests.

Baker, James; de St. Jorre; John, and O'Flaherty, J. Daniel. "The American Consensus on South Africa." Worldview, October 1979, pp. 12-16.

Based on lengthy interviews with 80 Americans influential in shaping US policy towards South Africa. Emphasizes the present lack of American black influence ("We have access, we have visibility, but we don't have power"). Many of the interviewees agreed (a) "little or no consideration is given to . . . influencing blacks in South Africa" and (b) "This is almost a no-win situation; in which you are going to have make very difficult choices, minimize losses, and hopefully come out with a little integrity."

Dale, Richard. "The Armed Forces as an Instrument of South African Policy in Namibia." Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1980), pp. 57-71.

Notes the history of South African troops in Namibia since 1914, observing that the armed forces have remained the "dutiful and creative servant of the state." Since 1914, the Defense Force has expanded from conventional to nonconventional warfare and from strictly violent methods to programs of civic action. Raises the possibility that the South African Defense Force may engage in "incipient praetorianism" if discontented with South Africa's political disengagement from Namibia.

"Dangerous Bill." Sechaba, October 1980, pp. 10-12.

Opposes the Second Police Amendment which drastically curtails public--press and family--knowledge of detained individuals. States that "over 90 laws" limit freedom of the press.

Groenewald, Coen. "Minerals In Perspective." South African Panorama, September 1980, pp. 18-23.

Notes the importance of the National Institute for Metallurgy in South Africa's \$10 billion a year mining industry. The NIM has developed processes to exploit ore bodies previously regarded as too complex or of minor grade. Mentions new extraction processes for gold and platinum group minerals. Numerous photographs.

Hirson, Baruch. Year of Fire, Year of Ash. London: Zed Press, 1979. 348 pp. Reviewed by Dan Keohane in International Affairs, Summer 1980, pp. 547-48.

"Illuminates some key problems within, between and surrounding African (anti-apartheid) movements and organisations." Criticizes the Black Consciousness Movement for stressing individual rather than group identity, and the Black Peoples' Convention's lack of radicalism. "A very competent and thoughtful account of the Soweto revolt."

International Defense & Aid Fund. The Apartheid War Machine. London, 1980, 75 pp.

An up-to-date description of the South African Defense Force. Examines South Africa's "Total War" strategy, military economy, and recent performance in Namibia, Angola, and Rhodesia. Includes a map of major military bases and a fairly comprehensive list of military ordnance.

"L'armee sud-africaine: est-elle invincible? (The South African Army: Is it Invincible?)." Revue africain de strategie (African Review of Strategy), February-March 1980, pp. 32-56.

This series of articles examines the personnel and equipment of the Defense Force (with a separate article on the Crotale-Cactus missile), the nation's arms and nuclear industries, Namibian uranium, and the alleged nuclear blast in 1977. Includes pictures of various Mirages, AML 60/90 (Eland) armored reconnaissance carriers, a mounted cavalry unit as well as a map of principal air and naval bases.

Mesenbring, David. "The Two White Races in South Africa." Worldview, October 1979, pp. 17-19.

Somewhat unconvincing thesis that Americans should direct their reformist energies not towards the supposed liberalism of the English community in South Africa but towards an apparently receptive and malleable Afrikaner morality.

Michener, James. The Covenant. New York: Random House, 1980, 884 pp. Reviewed by David Winder in The Christian Science Monitor, 10 November 1980.

For plot and historic continuity Michener traces three families--one black, one English, and one Afrikaner--over several hundred years of South African history which included the Great Trek, the Boer War, and the consolidation of the present white republic on Calvinist doctrine. "It is precisely because Michener has been so scrupulously evenhanded throughout this book that his dismay in its conclusion at the excesses of apartheid, of an ideology gone berserk, is so chillingly credible."

Moleah, Alfred T. "The Special Relationship." Africa Report, November-December 1980, pp. 12-17.

Observes the continuing alliance between South Africa's 120,000 Jews and Israel (South Africa's Jews contribute more money to Israel per capita than any other Jewish enclave). Believes that South African Jews are turning a blind eye to apartheid, noting a comment by a leading South African Jew that



"We are people, not paragons." Concludes that Israel-South African ties are "growing and deepening while the whole world is moving in the opposite direction."

Nothling, Major C. J. "Blacks, Coloureds and Indians In the SA Defense Force." South Africa International, July 1980, pp. 21-28.

A major in the South African Air Force, Nothling contends that nonwhites comprise an increasingly large share of the Defense Force while also receiving better treatment and greater benefits than before.

Nzo, Alred. "The Peoples' Programme." Sechaba, October 1980, pp. 3-9.

On the 25th anniversary of the African National Congress' Freedom Charter, the ANC's Secretary General presents the Congress' views on present South Africa. The ANC, which is "anti-racial and non-racial", is campaigning for release of Nelson Mandela, severely castigates Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi as a turncoat, and criticizes foreign investment for buttressing apartheid.

Seiler, John. "Understanding Afrikaner Politics: An Evaluation of Sources." Africa Report, November-December 1980, pp. 56-57.

While noting a few valuable works, Seiler bemoans the overwhelming lack of studies on Afrikaner politics. He believes that "in large part because of failures to understand Afrikaner nationalist perspectives and governmental policy-making processes, American efforts to assess policy changes in South Africa suffer."

Stultz, Newell M. "Is South Africa Changing?" Parts I and II. American Universities Field Staff Reports. No. 35 & 36, 1980, 15 pp.

After considering such recent government actions as the Wiehahn, Riekert and, especially, the Schlebusch proposals, Professor Stultz suggests that only minor reform has occurred recently in South Africa. Obdurate bureaucracy or existing apartheid legislation often negates new reform. While much of white South Africa now accepts that apartheid has failed, it remains uncertain about future political legislation or structures. Having decided that "racial discrimination against 'blacks' remains deeply ingrained," Stultz concludes that South Africa will continue to drift politically unless and until the government restructures the South African political system into a federation that will expedite profound political reform.

Willers, David. "The Politics of Violence in South Africa." South Africa International, July 1980, pp. 29-41.

Begins by asking how South Africa may contain terrorism within tolerable limits and then concludes that political reforms are the best answer. Believes that South Africa has a tremendous need for a popular constitution and that the government must obey its own laws: "if the government fails to act within the law then it cannot expect its citizens to do the same." Willers offers a useful distinction between terrorism and guerrilla warfare and concludes that an alliance of middle classes, both white and nonwhite, is being forged which, by pushing political evolution, could deter revolution.

#### SUDAN

Barbour, K. M. "The Sudan Since Independence." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1980), pp. 73-97.

Attempts to make a statistical assessment of the progress achieved in the Sudan since independence on 1 January 1956. Barbour compares information from official sources from 1955-57 with the most recent available government figures. Subunits of the article include: "The Achievements", "The Expectations", and "Development Projects."

Lycett, Andrew. "Sudan: Out goes the bread basket." African Business, No. 20, April 1980, p. 15.

The old slogan "bread basket of the Middle East" has been thrown out of the window. Under pressure from the International Monetary Fund, Sudan has reversed its wheat growing policy and is turning back to cotton, groundnuts and other export crops.

Taban, Alfred. "Higher stakes for Sudan cotton." The Middle East, No. 71, September 1980, p. 85.

As the 1980-81 cotton season begins, Sudan finds that it can sell more cotton than it grows. The question is whether to use it at home or to balance the external debt. A rather optimistic view of the role cotton can play in Sudan's economic future.

#### TOGO

Ndovi, Victor. "Eyadema's rule in Togo." West Africa, 27 October 1980, pp. 2103-4.

Discusses Togo's attempts to improve its image abroad and to discredit the Olympio brothers (the sons of the late President Sylvanus Olympio) who, Eyadema maintains, were responsible for a mercenary attack in 1977. The overall tone of the article is critical of Eyadema: it cites instances of excessive security precautions and the reluctance of Togolese to speak out against the government.

#### UPPER VOLTA

Madeley, John. "Resettlement scheme in trouble." West Africa, No. 3304, 17 November 1980, pp. 2303-4.

The success of the onchocerciasis (river blindness) eradication program coordinated by the World Health Organization, though extremely costly, had held out promise for new settlement and development in rich riverain areas.

Now the astronomical costs of resettlement, \$25,000 per family in Upper Volta, threaten the viability of the program. The problems of the present program, its mistakes and possible future solutions are examined.

"Upper Volta brought to a halt by strikes." West Africa, No. 3304, 17 November 1980 pp. 2283-5.

Although the November 21st military coup overthrowing the short-lived civilian government of Upper Volta takes newsworthiness from the article, possible causes leading to a military takeover can be seen. The inability of the Lamizana government to settle a teachers strike which led to a general strike may well have been a major cause of the former President's comrades in arms decision to remove him.

#### ZAIRE

Schatzberg, Michael G. "The State and the Economy: The 'Radicalization of the Revolution' in Mobutu's Zaire." Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1980), pp. 239-57.

Analyzes the evolution of the economic aspect of "Zairianization" in the capital and its implementation in the interior of the country. Schatzberg concludes that the promised reforms "did not change the [existing economic] system, but merely continued it." The "politico-commercial bourgeoisie" profited financially from "Zairianization."

#### ZAMBIA

"Zambia: Nerves on edge." Africa Confidential, No. 22, 29 October 1980, pp. 4- 7.

A chronology lists actions President Kenneth Kaunda took from 9 October to 24 October regarding an alleged coup attempt. "The analysts' problem is that, at first glance by no means all the detentions (in these days) appear to be linked, yet some of the government's charges of corruption did appear to be a subterfuge in order to play down the extent of political dissent against the leadership."

#### ZIMBABWE

Grundy, Trevor. "Mugabe gives Zimbabwe a much needed breathing space." African Business, May 1980, pp. 17-18.

Robert Mugabe's electoral victory has brought confidence but problems in agriculture, rural reconstruction and employment remain, apart from long-term worries. Grundy reports that white businessmen are happy with two of Mugabe's cabinet appointments: Dennis Norman as Minister of Agriculture and David Smith as Minister of Commerce and Industry.

LeMelle, Tilden J. "Winning Against a Stacked Deck: The Election in Zimbabwe." Africa Today, 31 May 1980, pp. 5-16.

LeMelle was member of an independent group of American observers of the February 1980 election in Zimbabwe that was won overwhelmingly by the Patriotic Front of Mugabe and Nkomo. His major point is that the Front won the election even though there was much intimidation and little real policing by the British.

"Mugabe in America." Africa, No. 110, October 1980, pp. 34-35.

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe traveled to the US for a week recently to build up support in this country and at the UN. He met with President Carter and members of Congress to seek aid but no aid was immediately forthcoming. He is seen as toning down Marxist rhetoric and appealing for Western business investments.

"New Homes for Guerrillas." Africa, No. 111, November 1980, pp. 40-41.

The major part of the article reports on Prime Minister Mugabe's plan to move ZANLA and ZIPRA guerrillas from rural areas into staging areas near towns. The government is starting to move the soldiers despite fears by townspeople that their presence will cause problems. The two areas are townships in Salisbury and Bulawayo. The author also cites a security problem because of attacks on police stations and farms in the Mtoko District, northeast of Salisbury, shooting incidents in the rich farming Goromonzi-arcturus area near Salisbury and grenade explosions in the black-populated townships around the capital. Mugabe has sent forces consisting of ZANLA and ZIPRA men.

Soames, Lord. "From Rhodesia To Zimbabwe." International Affairs, Summer 1980, pp. 405-19.

Reflections on the transition of Zimbabwe to an independent state. Traces British strategy when negotiating and then administering the cease-fire (Soames particularly singles out the advantage of having neutral troops located with the opposing forces, and not between them). Believes that the principle of constitutionalism is Britain's most important legacy. Quoting the first Duke of Wellington, Soames adjures that "if there must be revolution, let there be revolution under law."

Southall, Roger J. "Zimbabwe: Resettling the Refugees." Africa Report, November-December 1980, pp. 48-52.

The author reports on the project by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees to repatriate refugees in neighboring countries during and after the election period of February 1980. He believes Rhodesian authorities used the screening procedure to weed out guerrillas as well as deter blacks from entering the country in time to vote. As a result, many refugees re-entered surreptitiously.

"Zimbabwe." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 July-14 August 1980, pp. 5621-23.

Quotes Minister of Finance Enos Nkala on 24 July when he presented the 1980-81 budget as saying government policies in regard to instituting socialism will be pragmatic and mild. The Minister hoped real growth will accelerate to 6-7 percent in the mixed economy of state and private enterprise. Contains a breakdown of budget line items.

"Zimbabwe: Birth Pangs". New African, April 1980, pp. 12-23.

A series of articles on the political and economic prospects immediately after the electoral victory of the Patriotic Front led by Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo. Prime Minister Mugabe's Cabinet is listed. There is a short history of the country and the guerrilla war. The authors tend to praise Mugabe's first "moderate" steps in taking economic control from the whites.

"Zimbabwe: Five Months After Independence", Southern Africa, September-October 1980, pp. 7-8.

A summary of activities of the new government since independence, including the dismantling of the protected villages, the establishment of a minimum monthly wage and the integration of the guerrilla armies into a national force. One of Mugabe's primary problems is to replace General Walls, the retired armed forces leader, with a general who will effect the integration smoothly.

"Zimbabwe: Mugabe's Tightrope." Africa Confidential, No. 22, 29 October 1980, No. 22, pp. 1-4.

The general thrust of the article is that Mugabe is moving Zimbabwe forward. It cites rising tension between Mugabe's followers and Nkomo's followers. The writer believes some of Mugabe's advisers want the quick establishment of a one-party state, but this can't be done until "there is a semblance of a national army" in lieu of separate guerrilla forces.

"Zimbabwe: True Blue Budget." Financial Mail, 1 August 80, pp. 503- 04.

The article lists some aspects of the 1980-81 budget, including the cost of security down to 20-21 percent from 40 percent the previous year. Although the deficit will increase, it will be easier to finance because of international aid, loan recoveries, and blocked funds from Britain ceded to Zimbabwe as part of a debt settlement agreement. Also, Finance Minister Nkala is encouraging foreign investment.

"Zimbabwe Announces New Budget." Southern Africa, September-October 1980, pg. 11.

In fiscal year 1981 military spending would be down, spending on health, education and other social programs would be up. The budget projection is based on several assumptions: imports for the current calendar year will rise by 55 percent, with exports gaining by 40 percent leaving a Z\$97 million deficit in the current account of the balance of payments.

A section with three articles by Zimbabwe officials: "Poised for a Green Revolution", by E. G. Cross, Chief Economist, Agricultural Marketing Authority; "High Stakes in Mining" by Zivaishe Ratisai, Economist, Zimbabwe Chamber of Mines; "Revitalizing Transport" by P. G. H. Lamport-Stokes, Secretary of Transport and Power.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

(Received in December 1980)

AFRICA GENERAL

Dumont, Rene. L'Afrique Estranglee (Africa Strangled). Paris: Seuil, 1980.  
Reviewed by Paul Webster in The Guardian, 19 November 1980.

"Much of Africa Strangled is made up of new highly critical surveys requested by the presidents of Zambia and Tanzania, providing the most up-to-date analysis available in book form of the two neighboring former British territories."

Gaudio, Attilio. "L'Islam a la Croisee des Chemins (Islam at the Crossroads)--An Encounter with Jacques Berque of the College de France." Africa [Dakar], No. 124, October 1980, pp. 41-43.

An interview with Jacques Berque concerning the challenge to, and the challenge of, contemporary Islam. Modernizing tendencies are confronted by the Islam of the ayatollahs and ulemas.

Kamara, Sylvianne. "Personne N'en Veut (Nobody Wants Them)." Jeune Afrique, No. 1032, 15 October 1980, pp. 82-83.

In addition to often hostile attitudes and actions, both official and unofficial, African immigrants in France are encouraged or forced to leave France and return home. Many find that they are unwelcome or cannot be reintegrated at home. The tragedy is doubled when viewed from a developmental aspect. Skilled manpower so needed in Africa is under-utilized when available.

Land, Thomas. "Water: Scourge or Salvation?" Africa Report, Vol. 25, No. 6, November-December 1980, pp. 53-55.

The United Nations has designated the 1980s as the International Water Supply and Sanitation Decade. Shortage of water alone is not the major consideration of experts as 80 percent of all illness in developing regions is blamed on water-borne or associated illness. Problems and programs of the past, as well as future advances in technology, are presented in a timely and interesting discussion.

Mallin, Jay and Brown, Robert K. Merc: American Soldiers of Fortune. New York: New American Library, 1980, 184 pp.

Profiles ten Americans who have served for foreign countries. Three served in Africa: William Brooks, a former Green Beret who fought with the French

Foreign Legion in Djibouti; George Bacon, a former CIA and Special Forces officer who was the only American to die in the Angolan war; and John Early, formerly of the US Army who directed Rhodesia's HALO (High Altitude Low Opening) program. Reasonably well-written and sometimes informative, most notably when describing Early's airborne delivery system.

Pradervand, Pierre. "Africa--the Fragile Giant." The Christian Science Monitor, 3 December 1980, pp. 14-15.

Modernization is producing severe dislocations in many African societies. The author puts blame on: the introduction of the salary system, the rapid rate of urbanization, and the influence of Western culture. Among the symptoms cited as evidence of growing stresses in Africa are: abandoned children, infanticide, abandoned parents, increased incidence of insanity, and prostitution. Much of the blame is placed on African elites who participate with Western powers in weakening African culture. Rejecting Islam and the "Tanzanian model" as means to alleviate Africa's identity problem, the author vaguely suggests "solidarity" as a possible answer.

Starr, Richard F. "USSR and Red China in the Third World." NATO's Fifteen Nations, June/July 1980, pp. 81-88.

The author believes that "peaceful coexistence"--the slogan that introduced the abatement of the Cold War and the beginning of detente between the USSR and the United States--did nothing to improve relations between the USSR and Communist China. Nowhere, according to the author, is the rivalry more evident than in the Third World.

#### CHAD

Azevedo, Mario J. "Precolonial Sara Society in Chad and the Threat of Extinction Due to the Arab and Muslim Slave Trade, 1870-1917." Journal of African Studies, Vol. 7, No. 2, Summer 1980, pp. 99-108.

Historical and statistical, the article nevertheless provides information to further understanding of the serious divisions in Chad. The significance of the name Sara, (from Nassara or Christian, according to a major interpretation, and thus non-Muslim and exploitable for slaving) provides the basis for the title of the article and special meaning to the present-day conflict in Chad.

#### DJIBOUTI

Shehim, Kassim and Shearing, James. "Djibouti and the Question of Afar Nationalism." African Affairs, Vol. 79, No. 315, April 1980, pp. 209-27.

Djibouti's most serious problem as a nation is the troubled relations between the Afars and Issas, the two principal ethnic groups. Neither group is



rights of the Afars. This inequality has led to civil disturbances by the Afars and a newly developed sense of nationalism that the authors contend will be the key to the continuation of Djibouti as a nation.

#### EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Liniger-Goumaz, Max. Historical Dictionary of Equatorial Guinea. London: The Scarecrow Press, 1979, 222 pp. As cited in Afrique Contemporaine, No. 111, September-October 1980, p. 35.

This book contains a historical chronology of Equatorial Guinea, an alphabetized listing of leading persons and organizations, and a rather comprehensive bibliography.

#### ETHIOPIA

Selassie, Bereket Habte. "The Dergue's Dilemma: The Legacies of a Feudal Empire." Monthly Review, July/August 1980, pp. 1-23.

This is an analysis of the historical and social foundation of the imperial leadership in the context of the crisis that led to the dissolution of the empire and how this has influenced the revolutionaries' style of leadership. The author contends that the emperor has been deposed but the imperial policy remains, only the style and rhetoric are different.

#### GABON

"Le Gabon." Afrique Industrie, No. 217, 15 October 1980, pp. 30-89.

A very good detailed article on multiple aspects of the Gabonese economy. The article includes interviews with President Bongo and Etienne Moussirou, Gabonese Minister of Commerce, Industrial Development, and the Promotion of Small and Medium [sized] Enterprises. It also discusses the Gabonese economy in 1979, hydrocarbons, mines, wood, energy and water, posts and telecommunications, transports, banks, and international cooperation. An abundance of statistics.

#### GAMBIA

"The Gambia Breaks Off Relations with Libya." West Africa, 10 November 1980, pp. 2216-17.

Fear of intervention by "Libyan agents" prompted Gambia to invite 150 Senegalese troops into Banjul to secure the capital. Gambia broke off diplomatic relations with Libya and accused Senegalese citizen Ahmed Niasse, now in

Libya, of fomenting trouble. As a consequence of the incident, the Gambian Government banned two political organizations: the Gambian Socialist Revolutionary Party and the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA).

"The Gambia's MOJA." West Africa, 3 November 1980, pp. 2171-72.

Describes aspects of the political situation in the Gambia in the context of why MOJA is given support there. The aims of MOJA-Gambia are summarized.

#### GHANA

Hutchful, Eboe. "Organizational Instability in African Military Forces: the Case of the Ghanaian Army." International Social Science Journal, No. 4, 1979, pp. 606-18.

An analysis of the unsuccessful 1967 coup by junior officers against the National Liberation Council in Ghana. At the root of the plotters' grievances were: generational differences between senior and junior officers; excessively rapid rates of promotion which threatened to block later promotions for junior officers; high turnover in command positions; and ethnic differences.

Jeffries, Richard. "The Ghanaian Elections of 1979." African Affairs, July 1980, pp. 397-414.

A fairly thorough analysis of the somewhat surprising 1979 elections in Ghana. The People's National Party (PNP) was clearly the most broadly-based, winning just over half of the seats in parliament and at least two in every region. The runner-up Popular Front Party (PFP) was perceived as Ashanti-dominated, being able to win only 13 seats in non-Ashanti areas. The author feels that Victor Owusu, the PFP presidential candidate, was not an attractive choice and Limann's election may have been a reaction against Owusu.

"More Dependency Over Economic Mess." Africa News, 3 November 1980, pp. 2-4.

A gloomy characterization of the economic situation in Ghana. Shortages, labor strikes, the so-called "brain drain", and unchartable inflation have all contributed to a condition of "hopelessness."

"More Light on the Buller Affair." West Africa, 10 November 1980, pp. 2214-16.

A rebuttal to charges brought by the Ghanaian Government against Flt Lt Jerry Rawlings, Capt Kojo Tsiaka, and Mr. Tsatsu Tsiaka in which they are accused of collaborating with Wilhelm Harrison Buller to train revolutionaries at training camps inside Ghana. The accused claim that Military Intelligence is waging a campaign to discredit them and divert attention away from "more pressing issues." At one point Rawlings asks, "Why train people when in Accra alone today there are over one million citizens in a revolutionary mood?"

"Rawlings and the 'Buller Affair'." West Africa, 3 November 1980, pp. 2164-65.

A short summary of the so-called "Buller Affair" in Ghana in which the credibility of the government is questioned. The Ghanaian police are accused of persecuting Flt Lt Rawlings and his colleagues.

#### GUINEA-BISSAU

"Guinea-Bissau: The Cape Verdian Downfall." Africa Confidential, 26 November 1980, pp. 4-6.

Examines the background leading up to the 14 November coup in Guinea-Bissau. Since the Cape Verdian elite is likely to leave Guinea-Bissau, the country's economic crisis may deepen. Offshore oil offers one hope for recovery but this may depend on how the coastal dispute with Guinea is resolved. Although many of the new leaders spent time in Cuba and the Soviet Union, the conclusion is that "the new men in Bissau will move further West."

#### IVORY COAST

"Ivory Coast: How Real is Change?" Africa Confidential, 12 November 1980, pp. 3-5.

Much has been made of the new "democratization" process in the Ivory Coast. In recent local elections, 65 percent of the party secretaries-general lost their posts. Change at the top of the party hierarchy, however, has been less obvious. The same people who have been running the country for 20 years are still in positions of authority. The article suggests that Henri Konan Bedie is the front-runner to succeed Houphouet Boigny, and in any case, it is likely that a Baoule will be named to succeed the President. M'Bahia Ble, the Minister of Defense for the last 14 years, may be pushed out of office because his power base has grown too large, making him a threat to Houphouet.

#### LIBERIA

"Soldiers and Civilians in Liberia." West Africa, 17 November 1980, pp. 2291, 2294.

An interview with Amos Sawyer, a leading member of the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), in Liberia which first appeared in Africa News. Sawyer discusses the gradual maturity of the People's Redemption Council (PRC), the direction of the revolution, and MOJA activities in Liberia.

#### MALAWI

Burgess, Julian. "Malawi Needs Foreign Cash." New African, October 1980, pp. 135-37.

Malawi is facing stern economic times partly as a result of the conditions of the International Monetary Fund for improving the country's troubled balance of payments situation. The author discusses the economic situation and the proposed remedies.

#### MAURITANIA

Introduction a la Mauritanie (Introduction to Mauritania). 1979, 421 pp.  
Reviewed in Revue Francaise de Science Politique.

"This large collective volume, which is more than an 'introduction' as the modest title would lead us to believe, focuses on the history, culture, economy[ and the political and diplomatic system of Mauritania up to the removal of Moktar Ould Daddah in 1978] . . . The only shortcoming is in the quality of the presentation."

#### NAMIBIA

Minter, William. "Introducing Namibia: A Basic Reading List." Southern Africa, November-December 1980, pp. 28-29.

An annotated bibliography of some 30 publications on Namibia.

"Namibia Being Plundered of Uranium Resources." UN Chronicle, September-October 1980, pp. 21-27.

Testimony from numerous experts detailing the activities of Rio Tinto Zinc and other mining companies in Namibia, a country which produces about 20 percent of the West's uranium oxide. This situation has given South Africa "a preeminent position among the suppliers of uranium and enabled it to acquire nuclear technology which it proposed to develop for the manufacture of nuclear weapons."

Wellmer, Gottfried. "Germany's Tentacles in Africa." New African, October 1980, pp. 59-61.

A relatively new group within the German-speaking community in Namibia is apparently exercising considerable pressure against the inclusion of SWAPO into a government of independence. The new group, IG, helps operate "as a conduit for West German money and influence."

#### NIGER

Stewart, Bonnie Ann. "Peanut Marketing in Niger." Journal of African Studies, Vol. 7, No. 2, Summer 1980, pp. 123-28.

The role, successes and weaknesses of the state peanut commercialization cooperative in Eastern Niger are discussed in this article. Real success stories of African cooperative ventures are few, and SONARA, (Nigerien Organization for the Commercialization of Peanuts) remains on shaky financial ground. The Sahel Drought of the 1960s and 70s, followed by a government program to increase food self-sufficiency at the expense of peanut cash crops, probably means that SONARA will shift more to marketing at the local level and less to supplying peanuts to the world market.

#### NIGERIA

Madiebo, Major General Alexander. The Nigerian Revolution and the Biafran War. Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishers, n.d. Reviewed in West Africa, 25 November 1980, pp. 2364-66.

The author was commander of the Biafran Army throughout the 1967-70 Civil War. "His revelation of the names of those he believes to have plotted the massacre of Nigerians [read Ibos] in the northern parts of Nigeria [in 1966-67] is bound to be . . . painful and controversial." Madiebo tells stories of "inadequate preparation for war by the secessionist side . . . and of the almost criminal irresponsibility of the political leadership during the war by secessionist leader LTC Ojukwu . . .".

"Nigeria: Slow but Steady." Africa Confidential, 12 November 1980, pp. 1- 3.

President Shagari has done a remarkable job consolidating power and stemming opposition to the ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN); the other four parties are in various states of disarray. Shagari has surrounded himself with northern advisors and has appointed mostly northerners to senior military posts. Nigeria's prospects for stability appear bright.

Obasanjo, General Olusegun. My Command. Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria), n.d. Reviewed in West Africa, 1 December 1980, p. 2427.

The former Head of State of Nigeria recounts his wartime experiences in a volume certain to cause controversy. Obasanjo questions the abilities of his predecessor as head of state, General Murtala Muhammed, and highlights his clashes with General Gowon. The author's contempt for Biafran leader Ojukwu is never concealed.

Ogunbadejo, Oye. "Foreign Policy Under Nigeria's Presidential System." The Round Table, October 1980, pp. 401-9.

Since the return to civilian rule in October 1979, Nigeria's foreign policy has functioned efficiently in spite of having to deal with a new system of government. Those parts of the constitution which pertain to foreign relations are detailed and some early foreign policy decisions of the Shagari government are discussed. Thus far, Nigeria's approach to external relations has been characterized by "Afro-centrism and positive non-alignment."

Okoli, Eukora Joe. "Nigeria Going Nuclear?" West Africa, 10 November 1980, pp. 2222-23.

A commentary on Nigerian Defense Minister Iya Abubakar's claim that Nigeria will develop a nuclear capability to match the presumed capability of South Africa. The author states that South Africa has acquired a 155-mm artillery shell with a nuclear warhead. Nowhere in the article is it mentioned at what stage is Nigeria's nuclear development.

"Political Crossroads For 'Even Development'." Africa News, 27 October 1980, pp. 5, 8-9.

Discusses the politically sensitive problem of resource allocation in Nigeria. The Okigbo commission favors reducing the federal share from 76 percent to 53 percent and increasing the states' share from 21 percent to 30 percent. Under this plan the local share would be raised from 3 percent to 8 percent. The federal government and the oil producing states have divergent views on allocation and it will be a while before any formula is finally agreed upon.

#### SENEGAL

Copans, Jean. "Un film: Ceddo ou l'histoire introuvable (A film: Ceddo, or the indiscoverable history)." Annales, Nos. 3-4, May-April 1980, pp. 848-851.

Ousmane Sembene's film Ceddo has been critiqued many times before Copans presents a socio-political analysis. The effects of change wrought by Islam and Christianity, both seen as intrusive on Senegalese society, is viewed as one of the most important elements of the film.

Cox, Pamela, and Kessler, Richard. "'Apres Senghor'--A Socialist Senegal?" African Affairs, Vol. 79, No. 316, July 1980, pp. 327-47.

The nature of President Leopold Sedar Senghor's "African Socialism" and the chances that this ideology will survive following the planned resignation of Senghor are discussed. The authors conclude that although the rhetoric of socialism will probably continue, factors such as leadership skills, pragmatism, and support of Muslim leaders are the most important considerations.

DeCupper, Joel. "Senghor S'Attaque a la Corruption (Senghor Tackles Corruption)." Africa [Dakar], No. 124, October 1980, pp. 31-33.

In spite of rumors and beliefs by the Senegalese themselves, their country is not the epitome of corruption in Africa. In addition, Senegal continues to attack the problem and has placed a statute creating an offense of "unjustified enrichment" on the books. The tenor of the article is both cynical and hopeful.

"Senegal's Tensions With The Gambia." West Africa, No. 3304, 17 November 1980, pp. 2278-80.

The recent intervention of Senegal into Gambian affairs is analyzed. Libya appears to be the official culprit, but conditions in both Senegal and Gambia are in themselves reason for high tensions.

#### SIERRA LEONE

"Trouble in Sierra Leone's Universities." West Africa, 17 November 1980, pp. 2277-78.

Examines the issues behind the decision of several Sierra Leone academics to resign from the university and describes the recent student disorders in Freetown.

#### SOUTH AFRICA

"Afrikaner and Jew Show Route To Reconciliation." To The Point, 12 December 1980, pp. 10-12.

Afrikaners and Jews have drawn closer together since the blatant anti-semitism of the 1930s and 1940s. The article suggests that the Jewish experience of maintaining ethnic and religious identity without exercising political control might encourage Afrikaners to grant concessions to nonwhites.

Bissell, Richard E. and Crocker, Chester A., eds. South Africa Into the 1980's. Boulder: Westview, 1979. Reviewed by Robert Jaster in Survival, July-August 1980, pp. 188-89.

"Informative, analytical, and well-argued." Chester Crocker examines South Africa's manpower constraints and reduced access to Western technology and wonders how long South Africa's regional military hegemony will last. Scott Thompson has a "shallow and tendentious" chapter on "South Africa in Soviet Strategy" which Jaster describes as a "fright scenario stemming from this substitution of Soviet rhetoric for Soviet realpolitik." Jaster takes issue with Thompson over the depth of Soviet involvement. Suggesting that Russia has exercised caution in southern Africa (no eagerness to block European influence or to blockade South Africa) Jaster concludes that "the USSR has chosen to stir up trouble for the West without getting herself deeply involved."

Hartung, William. "US Synfuels: The Sasol Connection." Southern Africa, November-December 1980, pp. 2-22.

US energy firms are purchasing South Africa's coal gasification technology. Reportedly, of the first \$100 million allocated by the US Department of Energy for design work on synfuel projects, \$60 million will go to projects with which South Africa's Sasol is involved either as a consultant or potential licensor.

Killick, Sir John. "Perspective From Southern Africa." NATO's Fifteen Nations, June-July 1980, pp. 29-30.

Maintaining that South Africa considers the Limpopo and not the Zambezi River as her northern defense boundary, Killick believes that South Africa will strive for cordial relations with Zimbabwe. Author also applauds recent racial reforms promised by the South African Government.

#### SUDAN

Akoi, Jacob. "Breaking the Southern Deadlock." New African, April 1980, pp. 30-31.

Discusses the importance and impact of both the national and regional elections in Sudan during spring 1980. Particular and detailed attention is paid to the election in the Southern Region. A comparison is made between the two primary candidates for the position of President of the High Executive Council for the Southern Region, Lt Gen Joseph Lagu and Abdel Alier.

Beshir, Mohamed Omer. Diversity, Regionalism and National Unity. Uppsala: Institut Scandinave des Etudes Africaines, 1979, 50 pp. As cited in Afrique Contemporaine, No. 111, September-October 1980, pp. 40-41.

Professor Beshir teaches in the Institute of African and Asian Studies at the University of Khartoum. This article is a synthesis of two lectures he gave in 1976 and 1977 on the problems of national unity in the Sudan.

Buxton, James. "The South Stays Sudan's Poor Relation." Middle East Economic Digest, Vol. 24, No. 33, 15 August 1980, pp. 6-7.

South Sudan's economy is suffering badly from the lack of infrastructure and shortages of money and trained manpower. Several industrial development schemes have been planned but have been abandoned or left unfinished because of the central government's failure to allocate sufficient funds. Faced with these problems, the author concludes, it must be only a matter of time before the South decides that it can no longer accept such treatment.

"Fuel Transportation: The Missing Link." Sudanow, September 1980, pp. 27-28.

A rather good brief discussion of the "inadequacies and vulnerability of Sudan's fuel transportation system." Particular attention is paid to the rails and to the "under-utilized" river system as they apply to fuel transport.

"Nimeiry Opts for Safer Friendship." To the Point (Johannesburg), 28 November 1980, p. 19.

Sudanese President Nimeiry reportedly has decided to opt for security with his immediate neighbor, Ethiopia, rather than solidarity with a more distant neighbor, Somalia, a fellow member of the Arab League.



Wai, Dunstan M. "Pax Britannica and the Southern Sudan: the View from the Theatre." African Affairs, Vol. 79, No. 316, July 1980, pp. 375-95.

Blame for the current North/South problem in Sudan traditionally rested on the British imperial policy which "divided the Arab North from the African South by erecting artificial barriers." On the contrary, this article argues, the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium policy of separate administration for the North and South of the Sudan was essentially correct. "The major mistake was its abandonment and the political unification of the two disparate regions on the eve of the imperial withdrawal."

Wentworth, Thomas F. "Sudan: A Case Study in Project Financing." Middle East Executive Reports, October 1980, pp. 17-18.

Wentworth begins the article with a brief summary of Sudan's vast economic potential. The bulk of the article focuses on a case study for securing international financing for the Sudanese "El Roubis [industrial] group." Wentworth concludes: "Profitable and successful contracts are readily available today. Aggressive and dedicated financing efforts, however, are usually the key to making them work."

#### TANZANIA

Adam, Mlamali. "Nyerere: The Man and the Challenge." New African, October 1980, pp. 12-19.

As President Julius Nyerere begins his fourth 5-year term of office he is confronted with his most crucial challenge of his entire political career: how to uphold ujamma in a changed and less altruistic world. Ujamma, Tanzania's African socialist path of independence, has proven to be an economic failure and the prospects for outside aid coming to the rescue again are remote.

#### UGANDA

Kiwanuka, Saemakula. Amin and the Tragedy of Uganda. Munich, West Germany: Weltforum Verlag, 1979, ix+201 pp. Reviewed by Michael Twaddle in African Affairs, July 1980, p. 449.

"An eloquent account of very recent Ugandan history by a former professor of history at Makerere University. It will assuredly become an indispensable source of information for future students of Uganda."

Seers, Dudley. The Rehabilitation of the Economy of Uganda. London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1979, 2 volumes, 24 pp. and 335 pp. respectively. Reviewed by Michael Twaddle in African Affairs, July 1980, p. 449.

Subsequent events in post-Amin Uganda have rendered redundant most of the policy recommendations set out in the first volume by the group of Commonwealth experts led by Mr. Seers. The second one provides a definitive description of the devastation wrought in Ugandan agriculture, industry, transport, and social infrastructure by both the Amin regime and the break-up of the East African Community.

#### UPPER VOLTA

"Upper Volta Brought to a Halt by Strikes." West Africa, 17 November 1980, pp. 2263-64.

The article appears dated in light of a military coup, but it presents events which can be seen in hindsight as leading directly to a military takeover of the short-lived civilian government.

#### ZAIRE

Taousson, Jean. "Zaire 1980: Le geant de l'Afrique (Zaire 1980: Africa's Giant)." Paris Match, 28 November 1980, pp. 43-50.

A very optimistic overview of Zaire's potential for the 1980s. 1980 is a "triple-anniversary year" for Zaire: the 20th anniversary of independence, President Mobutu's 50th birthday, and the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Second Republic. The article contains numerous photos.

#### ZIMBABWE

Burns, John F. "A Delicate Balance in Zimbabwe." The New York Times Magazine, 7 December 1980, pp. 46-134.

General overview of Prime Minister Mugabe's first few months in office. The author emphasizes the political aspect of Mugabe's attempted rapprochement between blacks and whites. He applauds Mugabe's efforts to allow whites to retain property and to maintain some influence in the government.

Grundy, Trevor and Hawkins, Tony. "What Future for Zimbabwe Business?" African Business, No. 18, February 1980, pp. 15-16.

The authors quote businessmen as saying that the nation must present a show of stability no matter who wins the election. Several paragraphs on the cost of the war. The authors also point out that Zimbabwe made a strong recovery in 1979 from depressed 1977-78 levels.

"Zimbabwe". Africa News, 20 November 1980, pp. 2-8.

The article covers the violence in Bulawayo between followers of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and Home Affairs Minister Joshua Nkomo, and reports on

"hopeful economic indicators." The author reports that the economy is growing and agriculture is expected to make a quick comeback from the war despite the drought. He quotes a New York Times article (November 2) to the extent that the land redistribution to landless peasants may not be smooth in 1981 if it is overwhelmed by a land rush.

"Zimbabwe." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 August-14 September 1980, pp. 5651-54.

Reports on economic developments and Mugabe's tactics. Quotes the Financial Mail (Johannesburg) that exports will increase this year by 40 percent. Also reports on Mugabe's speech to representatives of the international business community assuring that private enterprise is welcome.

"Zimbabwe Comes in From the Cold." The Economist, 8-14 November 1980, pp. 84-87.

Extremely detailed description and analysis of Zimbabwe's economy, touching industry, mining, agriculture and transport. The author also points out trends concerning imports and exports. The future of the economy is seen as bright because of diversity and sophistication. Three charts included.

"Zimbabwe Economy: Exports to Soar." Financial Mail, 22 August 1980, pp. 857-58.

The article predicts that Zimbabwe's exports should grow by 40 percent this year which would be double the exports in a 3-year period (for 1977). Yet imports are expected to grow even faster--55 percent. Import prices may not fall this year but they should grow at only a 10 percent rate rather than last year's 37 percent, which is one reason the inflation rate has almost halved in the past year.